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A MONGOL SETTLEMENT IN NORTH CHINA AT THE END OF THE 16TH CENTURY

by

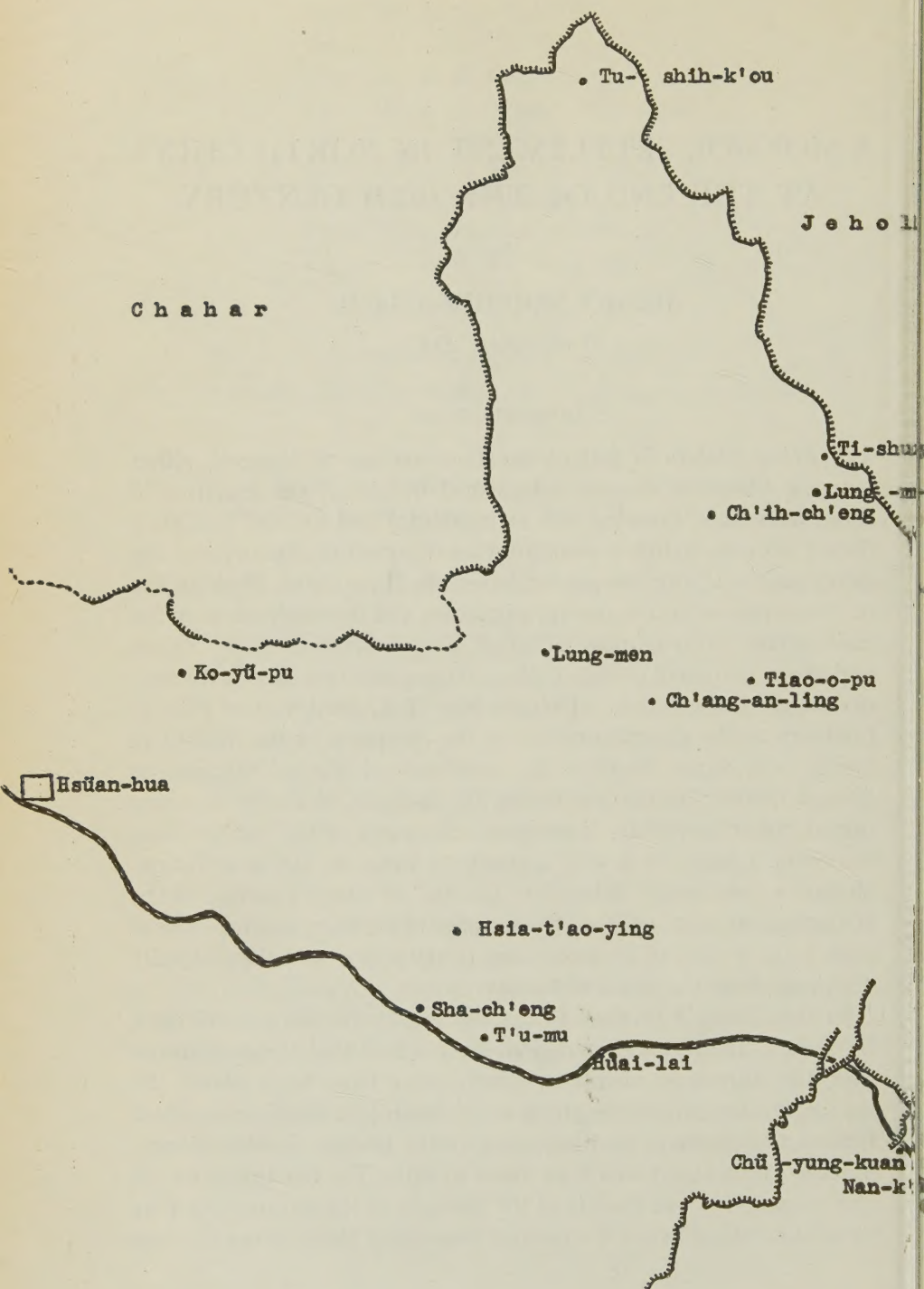
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Washington, D.C.

INTRODUCTION

The *Ming Shih-lu* is full of short references to Mongols either entering China or already established in China; the majority of those references, however, are so incidental and so brief that they do not allow us to follow even for a short period the history and the development of any Mongol settlement in Ming China. Perhaps the only exceptions to this general vagueness and incompleteness of the *Shih-lu* concern a number of small Mongol settlements in Kansu and one or two small groups of Mongol immigrants settled in the area east of the modern town of Hsüan-hua 宣化 northwest of Peking. Contrary to the general practice of the compilers of the *Shih-lu* of giving only vague hints at the existence of Mongol villages, or Mongol quarters in Chinese towns, the Mongols of Kansu are mentioned rather frequently throughout the reigns of the various Ming emperors. I hope to devote a study to them in the near future. Moreover, two small "tribes" or "groups" of Mongols settled in the Hsüan-hua area are referred to a number of times from circa 1560 to circa 1590, a span of no more than thirty years, and then literally disappear from the pages of history.

In this study I propose to discuss briefly the history of these Mongols of the Hsüan-hua region. We are told that they numbered over two thousand members, which must have been about the maximum that any single group could reach (outside Kansu). Their fortune may serve as an illustration of the history of other Mongol units in China about which we know so little. The few things we are able to gather about the life of the Mongols of Hsüan-hua may help us to understand better the reasons prompting Mongols to cross into



China and to make a little clearer the picture of the life and history of other Mongols in China. However, if we can consider the Mongol group of Hsüan-hua as representative of so many other units in China, one important reservation should be made from the start: there is a certain possibility that the very reason why this group of Mongols in the Hsüan-hua area is mentioned so more often than other Mongol settlements is because their history was also somewhat different from that of most other Mongol settlements, and their reaction to the new Chinese environment was so much different from that of Mongols scattered all over the empire. If their reaction to the Chinese impact was different, there is no less reason to consider their case as an illustration for the history of other settlements. As a rule the reasons for the Mongols to surrender to China were of the same order throughout the Ming period and the new Chinese environment no doubt was pretty much the same everywhere.

That the Mongols of Hsüan-hua at the end of the 16th century reacted in a particular way, at least for a short time, seems to be owing to the sole fact that they lived so close to the Sino-Mongol borders from where they were able to keep in close contact with their congeners in Mongolia, and owing to this circumstance probably they also kept a larger measure of freedom, and were able to react to the Chinese impact the way they did. For a while the Hsüan-hua Mongols became dissatisfied with the treatment of local officials and suddenly they decided to return to their native country to come back, however, to China a few months later. The case of the Hsüan-hua Mongols shows how foreigners at times might be treated. But other Mongols may not have been able to react in the same way, or were unable to react at all, even if they resented unfair treatment as vividly as Mongols settled close to the Sino-Mongol borders.

A return to Mongolia was invariably labelled "rebellion" and this seems to be the reason why these Mongols are mentioned in a special manner by the compilers of the Ming history. In another study on the Mongols in China at the end of the 14th century,¹ I have listed a few "rebellions" belonging to the Hung-wu period. All these so-called "rebellions" were not attempts to return to Mongolia; yet they all represent local outbreaks of discontent. It is unfortunate that we are so seldom informed on the precise reasons for those outbreaks and in what the "rebellions" consisted. We do

¹ See Chapter Eleven of my forthcoming *The Mongols in China during the Hung-wu period (1368-1398)*.

not know whether any of those outbreaks of discontent in the 14th century were in any way comparable to that of Hsüan-hua in 1590. We do not want, however, to give the reader the impression that the history of the Mongols in China during the Ming was a series of revolts. Quite to the contrary, the great number of surrenders reported and the disproportionately few cases of "rebellions" we know of by no means could warrant such a conclusion. On the whole the policy of the Ming towards the Mongols, especially during the first hundred years, was extremely broadminded and largely successful. The Ming wanted to attract as many Mongols as possible, and I believe that discontent was always due to temporary local conditions. Similar cases occurred also in Kansu.

To come back to the Hsüan-hua Mongols of the end of the 16th century, it is our good fortune that the Ming sources mention them more often than others, and tell us a few facts about them which in ordinary circumstances would have remained unknown; these few facts will help us to fill in a few of the many gaps in our knowledge concerning the Mongols in general in Ming China.

As a rule, the various Mongol groups established on Chinese soil became Chinese at a slower or faster pace, depending on many factors. As I have tried to explain elsewhere with special reference to the Mongols of the early Ming,² some units may have been able to put up a stiffer resistance to the process of sinicization according to the size and the solidity of their internal organization. Circumstances, no doubt, varied from place to place and from one period to the other, but eventually all the Mongols settled in China could not avoid becoming Chinese. In fact they all did sooner or later. I believe that the percentage of Mongols in China was the highest under the first three or four emperors. During later reigns, as the relative numerical strength of the Mongols slowly decreased, the process of sinicization gradually must have become easier, and undoubtedly, by the same token, also gathered speed. The very factor of the decrease in numbers and the relative easiness with which later Mongols in China became Chinese may have been one more reason why towards the end of the dynasty they drew but little attention upon themselves and consequently were mentioned less and less frequently in the Chinese sources. Therefore the large number of passages mentioning the Hsüan-hua Mongols is one other point of interest.

² *Ibid.*, Chapter Eight.

The Mongols whose fortunes we are about to sketch originally constituted two little groups, one of which was commanded by a Shih 史 family and for this reason is more often called the "Shih tribe"; and the other commanded by a certain Ch'e 車 and referred to as the "Ch'e tribe". The Shih family consisted of one Shih Chi-erh 史雞兒 and his two sons, Shih Ta 大, or Shih The Elder, and Shih Erh 二, Shih The Younger.³ Shih Chi-erh and his eldest son must have died at a relatively early date sometime after their entry into China, for in subsequent years it is Shih The Younger who is mentioned exclusively.

Ch'ü Chiu-ssu 瞿九思 in his *Wan-li wu-kung lu* 萬曆武功錄 (Preface 1612) has devoted a "biography" (*lieh-chuan*) to him under the name Shih Erh Kuan-erh, The Official Shih The Younger, together with a note on a leader of the Ch'e group whose name was Ch'e Ta-chi 車達雞. Unfortunately the publishers of the 1935-1936 edition of chapters 7-14 of the *Wan-li wu-kung lu* dealing with Mongol affairs apparently overlooked the fact these notes on Shih and Ch'e in Chapter One also deal with Mongols.⁴ In more than a dozen passages of the *Wan-li wu-kung lu* the Mongols Shih and Ch'e are mentioned in passing, and for more details we are always referred to their "biographies" in Chapter One which was not available to me. The Wan-li edition from which the 1935-1936 edition of Ch'ü Chiu-ssu's work was made must still exist in China⁵ but political conditions being what they are at the moment there is little hope that one will be able in the near future to examine it. It is not certain, of course, that Ch'ü Chiu-ssu had at his disposal

³ Shih Chi-erh is nowhere mentioned in the *Shih-lu*. According to the *Hsüan-hua fu chih* 宣化府志 (1743) 34.37a, he lived with his subjects near Hei-yü-k'ou 黑峪口, probably the place presently called Ko-yü-k'ou 葛 northeast of Hsüan-hua, and it was under his leadership that the Shih tribe crossed into China. I owe all references from the *Hsüan-hua fu-chih* to the Rev. Willem Grootaers, cism, now in Tokyo.

⁴ Chapters 7-14, all devoted to biographical sketches of Mongol personalities, were published in Peking in vols. 20, 24, 34, and 38, of the *Kuo-hsüeh wen-k'u* 國學文庫 series. Besides the note on Shih and Ch'e of the Hsüan-hua area, chapter 1 contains a note on the Uighurs of Shensi province, undoubtedly in modern Kansu (formed one province with Shensi during the Ming), and another note on a certain Po Pai 哱拜 and his son Po Ch'eng-en 承恩, Mongols who had risen to be officers in the garrison of Ning-hsia but rebelled in 1592.

⁵ Hsieh Kuo-chen 謝國楨 in his *Wan-Ming shih-chi k'ao* 晚明史籍考 (ed. National Library, Peking, 1932) 4.6b, lists a printed edition of 1612 in the provincial library of Hopei.

more information than we are able to gather from the *Shih-lu*. It is possible, however, that as usual Ch'ü has a number of every day details which, though in themselves of very little importance for the general sequence of historical events, yet give a special flavor to his narrative and tell us something about every day life of the people. But until such a Ming copy becomes available we shall have to content ourselves with the scanty material found in the *Shih-lu* and such little scraps of information as we find in a few other works.

As to the name Shih and Ch'e, no doubt they are Chinese transcriptions probably of the first syllables of the native names, either personal names or clan names of the chieftains. Since in the Chinese texts the characters Shih and Ch'e are used as surnames, Chinese style, it would seem that they were derived from their clan names. But Chinese transcriptions most of the time are too loose approximations to form a basis for reconstruction of the original Mongol forms. We do not even know what sort of men they were. As we shall see later on in this study, Shih The Younger married a daughter of one of Altan-qan's grandsons, and Altan-qan's son Senggedügüireng married one of the daughters of Shih The Younger, which allows us to conclude that the Shih family did not belong to the noble clan of the Bor-ǰigid, descendants of Činggis-qan. But beyond this we know nothing.

The first time the Shih tribe is mentioned in the *Shih-lu* is on August 4, 1561.⁶ This passage reads as follows: "Previously outside the borders of Hsüan-fu⁷ lived the nomadic barbarians (流夷) Shih The Elder and Shih The Younger, who were attacked by Huang T'ai-chi 黃台吉 (Qung-tayiji)⁸ with military power and reduced to submission. Thereupon Qung-tayiji employed them as guides to wage war inside the borders. The area between Lung-men 龍門 and

⁶ *Chia-ching shih-lu* 498.4b5a. It was in the second fifth month. The *K'ou-peï san-t'ing chih* 口也三廳志 11.15b16a gives the same text except for the last few lines. This text appears also in the *Wu-pien tien-tse* 五邊典則 10.12ab, but in this latter work it is dated from the sixth month. With regard to the *K'ou-peï san-t'ing chih*, it should be noted that the excerpts from the *Ming Shih-lu* incorporated into this work often are copied from a better text than that on which the Nanking edition is based.

⁷ The *K'ou-peï san-t'ing chih* reads: "Hsüan-fu and Lung-men 龍門." *Hsüan-fu* was the name under the Ming of the modern town of Hsüan-hua. The town was also the seat of the military district (*chen*) with the same name. It was called Hsüan-hua fu under the Ch'ing. Lung-men, now called Lung-kuan hsien, is located to the east of Hsüan-hua.

⁸ Qung-tayiji was Altan-qan's eldest son Sengge-dügüireng. Qung-tayiji, strictly speaking was not his name, but one of his titles (< Chin. *huang-t'ai-tzu* 皇太子). It is under this title that he is best known in the Chinese sources.

Yung-ning 永寧 had very much to suffer (from these incursions). Qung-taiji, however, was dissolute and tyrannical: the Shih barbarian's women and girls, and his [i.e. Shih's] subjects' beautiful wives were frequently ravished (by Qung-taiji),⁹ who also seized their oxen and horses. Therefore the Shih barbarians hated him and refused to submit to him. Repeatedly they approached the border officials and offered to surrender. They desired to recognize China's suzerainty (內附) and seek protection on the borders (保塞).¹⁰ The border officials, however, suspected a trick on their part and demanded that they murder or make prisoner¹¹ (some of Qung-taiji's men) in order to achieve merit and furnish proof of their sincerity. The (two) Shih brothers then killed the chieftain Sun 孫頭目, Jen-k'o 忍克, and others, in all some ten subjects from the supervising office¹² set up (by Qung-taiji). They exterminated their

⁹ Sengge's low morality earned him a very bad reputation, also among the Mongols. In the *Wan-li wu-kung lu*, ch. 8, p. 192, we read that he took so many wives that in the long run he became unable to support them and had to send them away begging, which caused no little talk. Perhaps this is the reason why we read in the *Ming-shih* 222.17a that Sengge (here written Hsin-ai 辛愛) had induced his two wives (*beyiji*) Uran (Wu-lan 兀蘭) and Čecen-uyiγurčīn (Ch'ieh-ch'in wei-wu-shen 且泌威兀慎) to raid the borders of Ko-yü-pu regularly and steal weapons, oxen, and sheep. In this connection we may also mention that Mongol women sometimes caused almost as much trouble as men.

¹⁰ *Nei-fu* does not have the connotation of moving within the borders of the Chinese empire. *Pao-sai* here does not mean "to protect the borders" but "to seek protection on or close to the borders". In other texts this expression has been used for Mongols who never did, and never intended to, move across the borders unto Chinese territory. For example, in the *Wan-li wu-kung lu*, ch. 7, p. 6, we read that Aruytai in 1412, completely routed by the Oyirad "in dire straits moved southward to seek protection on (China's) border". Aruytai for a while recognized himself a vassal of the Ming, and was granted the title of a prince, but he never moved into territory directly controlled by the Ming. He lived in what used to be known as the province of Chahar, now abolished. The expressions *nei-fu* and *pao-sai* mean a general intention to recognize the overlordship of China and to become a kind of protectorate state along the borders.

¹¹ *Lu* 虜, also in the *Wu-pien tien-tse*. But the *K'ou-pei san-t'ing chih* has *lu* 鹵 because 虜 had become taboo under the Ch'ing; the Manchu emperors indeed objected to the use of this character, meaning "to make a prisoner", and "a prisoner", even when applied to other non-Chinese tribes than the Manchus. It was currently used by the Ming for "Mongol".

¹² The *Shih-lu* reads 所署監部夷; the *Wu-pien tien-tse*: 所部監部夷. The *K'ou-pei san-t'ing chih* (KPSTC) in the text quoted from the *Shih-lu* has: *so shu chien pu-i*, but in the introductory sentence summarizing the whole passage we read: *so chih 置 chien pu-i*, which seems to be the better reading. The "supervising office" seems to have been an organ of control of the Shih Mongols after their conquest by Sengge.

people and brought the left ears (of the dead) as proof of the veracity of their claims, and the border officials presented a report to the throne on this affair.¹³ A decree was issued ordering to reward Shih The Elder with a long robe in silk and hemp interwoven and two inner and outer garments in variegated satin. Shih The Younger was granted two inner and outer garments in variegated satin. (The emperor also) ordered the military commander to give proportionate rewards to the barbarian T'ao-hua-tai 桃花帶 (? Toḡodai), the officers Lü Yüan 呂淵, etc., in all five men."

This text calls for a few words of explanation. First, T'ao-hua-tai mentioned at the end of this text undoubtedly was a Mongol in the Ming service. Whether Lü Yüan or any of those referred to after him were also Mongols it is impossible to say. Nor are we told why these five men were singled out for special rewards. Probably they had helped negotiate the surrender of the Shih Mongols. Perhaps T'ao-hua-tai, being a Mongol, had served as a go-between and interpreter.

With regard to the conquest and the subsequent oppression of the Shih Mongols by Qung-tayiji, we must never forget that what we read here are the views of Chinese about non-Chinese peoples and in such cases we are sometimes at a loss as to what to accept in a literal sense. Many Chinese officials were inclined to regard as oppression every form of government that was not Chinese. At any rate if Qung-tayiji had conquered the Shih tribe, they had become his subjects or serfs. Sengge-dügüreng qung-tayiji at that time had his territory just north of Kalgan in the region of the modern Changpei-hsien 張北. This is only a short way west of the area bordering on Hsüan-hua occupied by the Shih Mongols. We know also that the whole stretch of territory of Southern Mongolia running north of the Great Wall from the Yellow River to the borders between the provinces of Chahar and Jehol [now abolished] was the appanage of Altan-qan and his brothers and sons. The Shih Mongols lived within the borders of Sengge's territory and as such, it seems, they should have been under his control. It is not too clear what exactly is meant by what the Chinese describe as a military conquest of the Shih tribe. Could it perhaps be that the Shih Mongols had only recently wandered into Sengge-dügüreng's territory and had at first refused to recognize him as their chieftain? But no matter in what way they had become Sengge-dügüreng's subjects, once they were,

¹³ Here ends the text in the *KPSTC*.

Sengge was entitled to the customary services rendered by the serfs (*altabu*) to their noblemen (*tayi jī*). Thus it is well possible that the stealing of horses and oxen by Sengge-dügüireng, mentioned in the Chinese text, in terms of Mongol social customs was not so much stealing as the exaction of the service due to their lord.¹⁴ If the noblemen had some rights, these were not illimited, and they, too, were bound by a set of obligations, vague though they may have been, towards their subjects. A *tayi jī* was also responsible to his own overlord for the conduct of his serfs.¹⁵ It is easy to understand, however, that a willful and strong chieftain, as Sengge-dügüireng always is described, may have become inclined to overstep his rights accorded to him by Mongol custom and tradition. Therefore the "stealing" of horses and oxen from the Shih Mongols could have been such a case of exaggerated demands.

However, we should also consider the possibility of a refusal by the Shih Mongols to perform their traditional service. The old ideas of Mongol feudal society certainly had already undergone some changes due in part to the closeness of Chinese territories, the influx of Chinese prisoners and immigrants into Southern Mongolia, and the possibility, always open to Mongols, to move into China when dissatisfied with living conditions in Mongolia. Since we have to do with Mongols living on the very edge of the Mongol plateau, the possibility of a slow breakdown of the *tayi jī*-*albatu* relations cannot be excluded. The Shih Mongols cannot have been ignorant of the fact that so many Mongols were settled in China and serving in the Ming armies, an example of whom we find in the very T'ao-hua-tai mentioned in the passage of the *Shih-lu* quoted above.

¹⁴ For the meaning and the traditional contents of the terms *alba* and *albatu* see B. Y. Vladimirtsov, *Obščestvennii stroi Mongolov, Mongol'skii kočevoi feodalizm* (Leningrad, 1934), pp. 158-159, 164. French trsl. by M. Carsow, *Le Régime social des Mongols, Le Féodalisme nomade* (Paris, 1948), pp. 204-205, 211. See also H. F. Schurmann "Mongolian tributary practices of the thirteenth century," *HJAS*, 19 (1956), pp. 304-389, esp. pp. 312-329. H. H. Vreeland's description of the *tayi jī*-*albatu* relations in more recent times (*Mongol community and kinship structure*, New Haven, 1953, pp. 11, 12) is none too accurate. For a better and much more complete description see Ant. Mostaert, *cicm*, "Matériaux ethnographiques relatifs aux Mongols Ordos," *Central Asiatic Journal*, II (1956), pp. 241-244, and also Washington (State) University, Far Eastern Institute, *Mongolian People's Republic (Outer Mongolia)* (Human Relations Area Files, New Haven, 1957), p. 7.

¹⁵ See Jos. L. Van Hecken, *cicm*, "Communistes et Missionnaires chez les Mongols de la Mongolie Intérieure," in *Mission Bulletin* (Hong Kong), 9 (1957), p. 154 (separatum, p. 25).

It would seem then that we have an instance here of a clan or a group of Mongols who either had become unwilling to render the customary prestation or had decided to resist unwarranted and exaggerated demands of the nobility and for some time had been considering the alternative of putting themselves under Chinese suzerainty and protection if their nobles decided to force the issue. Traditional *tayi ji-albatu* relations ceased to exist altogether for such Mongols as moved into China, and although they became subjects of a new lord, the Ming emperor, they hoped for a juster and fairer treatment than the arbitrary high handedness of their own noblemen.

It is true, this is one of the very rare cases where the compilers of the *Shih-lu* explain the reason for the surrender. As far as we can judge from the circumstances and suggestions of other cases of surrender, the more general reasons were war and anarchy, poverty and economic distress; but these things are all closely connected with the *tayiji-albatu* relations. The Shih tribe constitutes a particular case within the wide area of possible cases in a decadent feudal society.

Although throughout the Ming history we find evidences of Mongols surrendering to China and entering the Chinese service, mostly in the army, and on more than one occasion men in authority praised the Mongols for their faithful service, in every period we also find men who refused to trust the foreigners and continuously warned the emperor and the government against the deceitfulness of the Mongols. It is true that cases of treason occurred, at least "treason" in the eyes of the Chinese officials, but they remained the exceptions, and mentions of such events are very rare when compared to references to the many Mongols employed by the Ming. The Ming government, however, never failed to take some minimum security precaution, and kept right on inducing more Mongols to come over to China, and accepting the surrender of such Mongols as presented themselves on the borders.

The surrender of the Shih tribe to my knowledge is the only case reported in the *Shih-lu* where apart from their desire to put themselves under Chinese authority, officials required from them an additional act of hostility against their former leaders as an unassailable proof that they had broken with them and did not intend to return ever again.

However, as we shall see in a moment, when the Ming first accepted the Shih tribe's surrender, they did not allow them to settle

south of the borders. They assigned to them a place on the borders, but outside of Chinese territory in the strict sense of the word. It must have been a no-man's land not too far from the advanced defenses of the Ming troops. But such territories always remained open to sudden attacks from the north.

That the danger of being attacked was not imaginary we see from the following passage of the *Shih-lu*; besides the Shih Mongols, this text discusses also the Ch'e tribe, not mentioned in our first text. In the entry of March 19, 1572,¹⁶ we read: "Huang t'ai-chi (Qung-taiji) had sent soldiers to kidnap and carry off the barbarian people of the encampment (帳房) of Ko-ku 革固 (? Kōkō) and others¹⁷ of the Ch'e barbarians. It is not known from where Ko-ku had come in the beginning. It was during the Chia-ching period (1522-1566) that he first (began) to wander around in the region outside the Hsüan-fu borders where he lived intermingled with the Shih barbarians.¹⁸ The Hsüan-fu (authorities) thereupon conformed and considered them as Outer Defenses (外藩),¹⁹ but they were not old-time subject-barbarians and they were frequently looted by Qung-taiji. At this moment the inspector (*hsün-fu*) Wu Tui 吳兌²⁰ memorialized: 'Ko-ku's people number only one thousand men and whether they stay or leave is really no cause of worry for China. We have already dispatched someone to interrogate Qung-taiji and to order him to send them back.²¹ However, (Ko-ku's people) and the Shih barbarians under the circumstances are [as mutually interdependent]

¹⁶ *Lung-ch'ing shih-lu* 67.2b-3b; also in the *Wu-pien tien-tse* 10.82a-84b and (incomplete) in the *KPSTC* 11.21ab.

¹⁷ The *KPSTC* has no character *teng* after the name Ko-ku.

¹⁸ The *KPSTC* has *pu* "tribe" instead of *i* "barbarian."

¹⁹ They are called "Outer Defenses" because they remained temporarily outside territory under immediate and complete control of the Ming, where they formed a kind of protectorate state. This term *wai-fan* was applied to other Mongol tribes for similar reasons although the closeness the China might differ from place to place.

²⁰ Wu Tui has a brief biographical note in the *Ming-shih* 222.16b-18b; also in the *Ming-shih kao* 205.13b. Another note appears in the *Kuo-ch'ao ching-sheng jen-chün jen-wu k'ao* 國朝京省分郡人物考 51.61b-66a by Kuo T'ing-hsün 過庭訓. Latter work, however, mentions the Shih and Ch'e Mongols only once. We are told that Wu Tui fortified a stretch of 300 *li* of enemy territory and let the Shih and Ch'e Mongols occupy it. This is none too accurate. Indeed the Mongols were first told to establish themselves outside the borders but we see no evidence of fortifications. Later they were allowed to cross into Ming territory and Wu Tui's plan included the construction of a small number of fortified villages, but the area cannot be called enemy territory.

²¹ The *KPSTC* lacks this sentence.

as lips and teeth, and if Ko-ku [and his people] are kidnapped, it is to be feared that the Shih barbarians, too, may suffer an invasion. We request to build separately two or three small fortified villages in an empty area close to the borders and settle the Shih barbarians there in order to give shelter to the elderly people and children, and allow the able-bodied men to tend their herds close to the borders. In case of an attack, they will be able to defend themselves, and if we should transfer (them) we could safely (use them) to relieve (pressure in other areas). This way we shall build a double defense for this Eastern Circuit (*Tung-lu*²²) and employ the barbarians to ward off the barbarians. This will be the first advantage. We shall bring to naught the caitiffs'²³ plans who will thus be unable to loot the subject-barbarians, and thereby forestall incidents. This will be the second advantage. If we build separate fortified villages to settle them we shall avoid Chinese and barbarians being intermingled, with the hope²⁴ of keeping them apart for ever. This will be the third advantage. As to the plans for those fortified villages, they may not be too large and we must allow only the elderly people and the children to settle in them with their possessions. The tents for the able-bodied men must be pitched all around outside the villages. In time of peace they will pasture (their herds) in the neighbourhood, and if there is an alert they will mount the village (walls) to beat off (the enemy). In every fortified village we should select an official administrator-of-the-barbarians (*fu-i-kuan*) (whose task it will be) to command the "night-spies" (? 通夜人)²⁵ and to investigate in their behalf spies (*chien-wei*) and to open and close the gates of the fortified villages. If we are able in advance to wreck (the out-lying

²² The *KPSTC* does not have the character *lu* 路.

²³ For reasons already explained above the *KPSTC* reads *ti* 敵 instead of *lu*.

²⁴ The *Shih-lu* and the *Wu-pien tien-tse* read *t'u* 圖; the *KPSTC* has *mu* 謀.

²⁵ The term *t'ung-yeh-jen* is unknown to me, but I assume that it is related to another term very often mentioned in the sixteenth century: *yeh-pu-shou* 夜不收. The *Kuo-yü tz'u-tien* (p. 3995) translated this latter word als "spy", and refers to the *Shui-tung jih-chi* 水東日記 (*Chi-lu hui-pien* 143.8b9a) by Yeh Sheng 葉盛 (1420-1474). A short vocabulary of Mongol works in the *San-yün ch'ou-tsu k'ao* 雲籌俎考 (2.24b) lists the word *γajarči* and explains it as "one familiar with place names and roads; guide; *yeh-pu-shou*". For *γajarči* compare the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* (§ 239) 10.14a: *γajarčila* - "to be a guide"; see also G. J. Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wörterbuch*, p. 148b "gazrīši: landeskenner, wegweiser, führer"; and Ant. Mostaert, *Dict. ordos*, p. 286 a "GaDžar-tš'ila- accompagner qq. pour lui montrer le chemin". Another term probably with the same meaning is *yeh-t'u-fu* 夜徒夫. cf. Tamura, *Jitsuzō*, *Mindai Mammō shiryō*, *Manshū hen* 4, p. 432 (*Wan-li shih-lu*, ch. 507).

Mongols') plans for violence, we shall also be able to check their wild desires. This will be the fourth advantage. If we give up (the Ko-ku prisoners) and do not act, the caitiff²⁶ chieftains will continue to come and induce (the surrendered Mongols), and the situation will become so critical that it will be impossible to withstand their pressure. If the subject-barbarians suffer harm from the northern caitiffs²⁷ and are unable to obtain the advantage of China's protection, the inevitable result will be that (the subject-barbarians) will join the caitiffs.²⁸ If their hearts should gradually be estranged (from us), it would be the result of bad planning.²⁹ The district-judge Liu Liang-pi 劉良弼³⁰ also said: 'the Ch'e barbarians and³¹ the Shih barbarians rely upon each other and China considers the two barbarian (groups) as Outer Defenses.³² Because the Ch'e barbarians are no longer there the Shih barbarians are, of course, isolated, and, we fear, they will have difficulty in defending them-

²⁶ The *KPSTG* again has *ti* instead of *lu*.

²⁷ "Northern" is my correction. *Pei-lu* was a current expression during the Ming. For "northern" the *KPSTC* and the *Wu-pien-tien-tse* have *pei* 背 instead of *pei* "north", and the *Shih-lu* reads *chieh* 皆, of course, an error for *pei* 背. Further, instead of *lu*, the *KPSTC* has *ti*.

²⁸ The *KPSTC* reads *k'ou* "robbers".

²⁹ Here ends the quotation in the *KPSTC*.

³⁰ Liu Liang-pi has no biographical notice in the *Ming-shih*. We find a short note on him in Lei Li 雷禮, *Kuo-ch'ao lieh-ch'ing chi* 國朝列鄉記 150.7a, and in Ho Ch'u-kuang 何出光, *Lan-t'ai fa-chien lu* 蘭臺法鑒錄 18.22a, and 26b. His *tzu* was Lai-ch'ing 資鄉; he was a native of Nan-ch'ang, Chianghsi province. A *chin-shih* of 1565, he became a county governor of Chin-t'an 金壇 (mod. Chiangsu). In 1569 he was sent to Yünnan as a *yü-shih*, in 1572 he became a district-judge (*hsün-an*) in Fuchien, and in 1576 in Shun-t'ien (Peking). In 1578, because he had examined documents concerning some judicial cases of the metropolitan area Liu was promoted to be Secretary to the Right (*yu-ch'eng*) of the Court of Justice (*Ta-li ssu*, *Ming-shih* 73.15a) and in 1580 he was promoted to the rank of Secretary to the Left. Later he was again promoted to be vice-chairman (*shao-ch'ing*) to the Right, and in 1581, vice-chairman to the Left. In 1582, he became chairman of the Court of Imperial Equipage (*T'ai-p'u ssu*, *Ming-shih* 74.5b), and the next year he was made chairman of the Court of Imperial Banquets (*Kuang-lu ssu*, *Ming-shih* 74.4a), then a secretary-censor to the Right and Inspector of Kuanghsi. He died the same year.

The biographical notice of the *Kuo-ch'ao lieh-ch'ing chi* says nothing about his having served in Hsüan-fu, but the notice of the *Lan-t'ai fa-chien lu*, which is much shorter, says that after serving in Yünnan, he became a *hsün-fu* in Hsüan-ta, Fuchien, Shun-t'ien. However, according to the *Shih-lu*, he was not a *hsün-fu* but a *hsün-an yü-shih*, inspector-censor (*Ming-shih* 73.2b).

³¹ My hand-copied *Wu-pien tien-tse* lacks character *yü* 與.

³² My *Wu-pien tien-tse* has a corrupt reading here: it lacks character *wai* and has twice character *fan*.

elves. Should the Shih barbarians also go away, then the barrier against the northern caitiffs would be completely scattered and (our) defense would become more difficult. China cannot afford not to be careful in controlling and governing (the subject-barbarians).’ The matter was referred to the Board of War which replied: ‘although the two barbarian (groups) are submissive and obedient, they are not important enough to cause any concern to China. We beg (the emperor) to order the governor-general (總督)³³ and other officials to send messengers to An-ta 俺答 (Alta[n]-qan), to Lao Pa-tu 老把都 (the Old Bâtur),³⁴ and to Qung-tayiĭ in order to investigate the truth and demand to send (the prisoners) back. If (Qung-tayi ĭ) should stubbornly refuse to give them up and let them go, then we ought first to suspend the “rewards”³⁵ of the Ch’e Barbarians and leave it to the military to settle the matter. It is difficult to control from far away.’ The emperor gave his approval to this plan.”

In connection with Wu Tui’s plan to let the Mongols have at their disposal two or three walled villages so as to be able to defend themselves against other Mongols, we should mention that in 1509 an event occurred in the east comparable to the surrender of the Shih and Ch’e Mongols. Under the date of May 25, 1509,³⁶ we read how a group of upward of 20,000 Mongols, mostly from the “Three Uriyangqad” Commanderies T’ai-ning, To-yen (Dö’ën), and Fu-yü (possibly also including some Jürčed, Nü-chih) migrated southward and requested permission to establish themselves close to the Chinese border defenses in modern Manchuria, and to seek protection against northern Mongols. These refugees expressed their desire to build earthen enclosures in order to defend themselves against possible attacks. We should remember that the “Three Uriyangqad” were long-time subjects of the Ming who as early as 1389 had declared themselves vassals, but at times had aided the northern Mongol tribes against China. The incident of 1509 perhaps is an

³³ The *tsung-tu*, or governor-general, was responsible for the administration of the three military districts of Hsüan-fu, Ta-t’ung, and Shan-hsi. At this particular time it was Wang Ch’ung-ku 王崇古 who filled this post. See his biogr. in the *Ming-shih* 222.5b-12b.

³⁴ One of Altan-qan’s younger brothers.

³⁵ The term “rewards” indicates a sort of subsidies granted to Mongols who maintained friendly relations with China. Obviously this order was to prevent the subsidies intended for the Shih and Ch’e Mongols from falling into the hands of their captors.

³⁶ *Cheng-te shih-lu* 50.5b6a; Tamura, *Manshû hen* 3, p. 214.

indication that they were not always able to avoid being involved into attacks against Chinese territories. At any rate, on the whole they seem to have remained fairly faithful to the Ming. Upon their arrival then in 1509, a border official reporting on the matter explained that there existed a few earthen enclosures which the Uriyangqad might be permitted to occupy, and he asked for further instructions. After deliberation on the matter, the Board of War declared that the "Three Uriyangqad", being vassals of China, had the right to be protected; yet one could never be completely sure of them; and the military authorities of Liaotung ought to assure themselves that the whole matter was not a trick. If, however, the refugee Mongols from Uriyangqad were telling the truth, they were to be allowed to establish themselves outside of the Chinese borders, but not inside the Chinese lines where they were likely to frighten the people. As to those old earthen enclosures mentioned above, since they were located too far from the Chinese lines to present any danger to the Chinese defenses, the Mongols were allowed to settle their women and children in them for the time being. But as soon as things would become normal again, they were to move farther away from the borders with their herds.

An almost identical case occurred in the middle of the 16th century. On May 2, 1554,³⁷ two "subject-barbarians," no doubt, Mongols again, who had fought against invading Mongols from the north, were being rewarded for their services. They requested permission, however, to build a wall, i.e. a walled village, in the neighbourhood of I-chou 義州 so as to be able to defend themselves more effectively.³⁸

³⁷ *Chia-ching shih-lu* 421.3ab; Tamura, *Manshū hen* 3, p. 470.

³⁸ In most defense plans of the Ming against the Mongols those fortified villages were of primary importance. Time and again plans were introduced providing for the selection of key points along the borders where villages were to be constructed surrounded by heavy earthen walls, sometimes two *chang* high (20 feet), with a ditch on the outer side fifteen feet deep. The ditch was to prevent Mongol cavalymen from coming too close to the walls while the defenders standing behind a parapet on the walls could keep the attackers away. Those walled villages had to be large enough to provide room for storing enough grain and other provisions for a fairly heavy concentration of people from the neighboring villages or hamlets and their cattle, as well as for the soldiers with their horses. A continuous watch was to be held not only from the walls of those strongholds but also from the many watchtowers strung out in multiple lines along the borders. In case of emergency, signals were given with smoke and cannons from those towers to warn the occupants of other towers and of the villages. In case of danger the people were supposed to abandon their ordinary villages and seek shelter behind the walls of those

As far as the Shih and Ch'e Mongols are concerned I know of no text telling us of those walled villages actually being constructed for them, yet one thing remains sure, namely that the Mongols moved into Chinese territory, and presently we shall try to determine where they settled.

Ho Chi 霍冀, in the section on Hsüan-fu-chen of his *Chiu-pien t'u-shuo* 九邊圖說 [Maps and Explanations of the Nine Border Districts]³⁹ (presented to the throne in 1569), mentions the Shih and Ch'e Mongols in their first territory just outside the Hsüan-fu district. The legends on the map are in very small characters not too legible in the fac-simile edition. Some texts are not readable at all. On p. 66 b (of volume 18 of the *Hsüan-lan-t'ang ts'ung-shu*) we read: "Outside this (region of Hsüan-fu) is the encampment of Shih Ta Kuan-erh (the Noyan, or official, Shih The Elder) and others, roughly counting one thousand individuals; (they have) yearly 'rewards'. The map puts the Mongol encampment clearly outside the line of watch towers along the Great Wall of the Hsüan-fu borders. On page 67 b of the map, one text only partially readable, mentions

fortified places. Moreover the people were also supposed to take all their possessions among with them. The idea behind this strategy was that if the Mongols found nothing to steal in the country, unable or unwilling as they usually were to attack strongly fortified points, they would withdraw on their own accord. This was called *chien-pi ch'ing-yeh* 堅壁清野 "strengthen the walls and empty the countryside". However, we may ask ourselves how practical and how efficient those plans were. One fails to see how in an emergency the people could take all their possessions with them: animals grain, utensils, clothes, etc. Moreover it is very doubtful whether the people at large were willing at all to leave their possessions behind and seek protection behind the walls of the fortified villages. Whatever they had to leave behind was sure to fall into the hands either of the invading Mongols or of plain thieves who would not miss such an opportunity. The plan "to empty the countryside" is proposed by so many officials and on so many occasions that one gets the impression that it never was put into effect, or never worked too well. Here follow a few references to passages in the *Shih-lu* where such plans are mentioned or proposed: *Yung-lo shih-lu* 30.11b (1404); 32.7b (1405); 66.5b (1409); *Chia-ch'ing shih-lu* 76.1b (1527); 124.3ab (1531); 146.2b (1523-1533); 169.2a (1534); 249.5b (1541); *Môko hen* 1, pp. 291, 293, 361; *Môko hen* 5; p. 624; *Môko hen* 6, pp. 9, 45, 95, 213. The fact behind the plan for "emptying the countryside", it seems to me, was that, as time went on, especially in the 16th century, the Chinese remained more and more on the defensive. There was so much corruption and inefficiency in the army that as a rule no officer ever dared to go on the offensive. The Mongols crossed the borders at will almost on any place, and wherever an opportunity for offensive presented itself the generals were always afraid of falling into a trap because the barbarians were "so wily and inscrutable!"

³⁹ *Hsüan-lan-t'ang ts'ung-shu* 玄鑒堂叢書, vol. 18.

Ch'e and other Mongol chieftains, and another short text mentions the *noyan* (*kuan-erh*) Shih The Elder. This part of the maps of the *Chiu-pien t'u-shuo* evidently gives us the location of the Mongol settlement of the Shih and the Ch'e groups after their surrender of 1561 or shortly thereafter and before 1572 when they moved into China.

One other author who mentions the Shih and Ch'e tribes is Chang Huang 章潢 (1527-1608) in his geographical work *T'u-shu pien* 圖書編.⁴⁰ These maps are much later than the *Chiu-pien t'u-shuo*. In fact the *T'u-shu pien* was published only in 1623, yet it also puts the Mongol settlements outside the borders. I suspect that the maps in the *T'u-shu pien* are based on those parts of the *Chiu-pien t'u-shuo* or similar works reflecting the situation as it existed between 1561 and 1572, not later.

If, as Wu Tui suggested, the Mongols were moved inside China and allowed to settle in an empty area "close to the borders," can we determine which area was assigned to them? On this point, too, we possess some very interesting information.

The *K'ou-pei san-t'ing chih*, in ch. 7, lists a number of Mongol chieftains living opposite the Hsüan-hua territory during the latter Ming. This list is copied from various Ming works; in one section of this list taken from the *Hsüan-chen t'u-shuo* 宣鎖圖說 (Maps and Explanations of the Military District of Hsüan [-fu])⁴¹ we read the following lines: "Lower-Northern Circuit:⁴² outside Ch'ang-an-ling

⁴⁰ *T'u-shu pien*, ch.45, map of Hsüan-fu, p.1a.

⁴¹ The full name of the *Hsüan-chen t'u-shuo* is *Hsüan-fu-chen t'u-shuo*, which is a section of the *Hsüan-Ta-Shan-hsi san-chen t'u-shuo* 宣大山西三鎮圖說 (Maps and Explanations of the Three Military Districts of Hsüan [-fu], Ta [-t'ung], and Shan-hsi) by Yang Shih-ning 楊時寧. A fac-simile edition of this work appears in volumes 20-25 of the *Hsüan-lan-t'ang ts'ung-shu*. The author of the *KPSTC* dates it from the 30th year Wan-li: 1592.

⁴² With regard to this appellation "Lower-Northern Circuit", we must note that Wei Huan 魏煥 in his *Huang-Ming chiu-pien k'ao* 皇明九邊考 (Preface 1541) 4.4a-5a, lists five circuits in the military district of Hsüan-fu, respectively called: 1. the Northern Circuit, comprising the area of Tu-shih-k'ou 獨石口 and Ma-ying 馬營; this is the area inside the northern bend of the Great Wall, northeast of Hsüan-fu; 2. the Eastern Circuit, around Huai-lai 懷來 and Yung-ning 永寧; Huai-lai is southeast of Hsüan-fu, presently on the Pingsui Ry; Yung-ning is located exactly east of Hsüan-fu and northeast of Huai-lai; 3. the Western Circuit, around the Right Commandery of Wan-ch'üan 萬金右衛, the modern Chang-chia-k'ou 張家口 (Kalgan area); 4. the Southern Circuit, around Shun-sheng 順聖, Yü-hsien 蔚, and Kuang (ch'ang) 廣 (昌); Shun-sheng, also called Tung-ch'eng 東城 (cf. *Ming-shih* 40.15b) is located in the valley of the Sang-kan-ho, southwest of

Hsüan-fu; there was also a Hsi-ch'eng, Western Town, in the same valley; Yü-hsien is south of Tung-ch'eng; Kuang-ch'ang, south of Yü-hsien, is the modern Lai-yüan-hsien 浹源; and 5. the Central Circuit, comprising the area of Ko-yü-pu, northnortheast of Hsüan-fu, close to the Great Wall. At the head of a Circuit there was a *ts'an-chiang*. Yeh Sheng, in his *Shui-tung jih-chi chai-ch'ao*, speaking of the early Ming, lists only four circuits; the Northern, the Eastern, the Western, and the Southern, and from the place names listed by him, it seems that at that time the "Central" was not an independent circuit but was under the direct authority of the commander-in-chief of the troops of the District. See the *Chi-lu hui-pien* 143.16a-23a. The *Hsüan-fu-chen t'u-shuo*, vol. 21, p. 57a, remarks that in 1590, the Northern Circuit was divided into an Upper Northern Circuit and a Lower Northern Circuit. The military officer commanding the Lower Northern Circuit resided at Lung-men. The *Ming-shih* 76.13a lists seven circuits as follows: 1. the Northern, 2. the Eastern, 3. the Upper Western comprising the Kalgan area, 4. the Lower Western comprising the region of Ch'ai-kou-pu 柴溝堡, between modern Kalgan and the Shansi borders, 5. the Southern, 6. the Central, and 7. the circuit called the Southern Mountains. The *Southern Mountains* were a part of the mountainous system in which Chü-yung-kuan is located. This area, here called the Circuit of the Southern Mountains, originally belonged to the Eastern Circuit, but at what time it was organized as a separate circuit, I have been unable to discover.

If, from the very beginning we have five circuits, in 1551, the governor-general of Hsüan-fu, Ta-t'ung, and Shansi, Su Yu 蘇祐, as a measure to improve the organization of the defense system, proposed to divide the district of Hsüan-fu into *ch'ü*. But Su also says that the district was divided into four circuits, and he proposes to organize seven *ch'ü* now. The four circuits mentioned by him are: the Northern, the Southern, the Western, and the Eastern. Again no mention is made of the Central District. At the head of the new *ch'ü* there would also be a *ts'an-chiang*, but apparently the seven *ch'ü* were not to supersede the four (or five) circuits, but would be new organizational units overlapping them. However, how the new organization would fit into the system of the old circuits is not clear from the text (*Chia-ching shih-lu* 372.5a; Tamura, *Môko hen* 6, pp. 676-677).

The *Ming-shih* has no biography of Su Yu. Several other works contain notes on him. The best perhaps is found in Chiao Hung 馬竑, *Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu* 國朝獻徵錄 57.33a-36b. His *tzu* was Yün-chi 允吉 and his *hao* Shun-tse 舜澤. He was a native of P'u-chou 濮 in Shantung. In 1513, he successfully passed the provincial examinations, and in 1526, obtained his *chin-shih* degree, whereupon he became county governor of Wu-hsien 吳 (Su-chou). Shortly thereafter he was made a provincial censor (*chien-ch'a yü-shih*; *Ming-shih* 73.5b) of Kuang-tung, but in 1513, he was sent as a district-judge to Hsüan (-fu) and Ta-t'ung where he was instrumental in putting down a mutiny in the local army. In 1535, he was ordered to go to the lower Yangtze, where he rebuilt dikes that had collapsed under a flood. In 1537, he went to Shansi as a district-judge, and in 1542, he was made an adviser to the provincial government and particularly entrusted with the supervision of the three passes of Yen-men, Ning-wu, and P'ien-t'ou in Northern Shansi. Later he was promoted to the rank of vice-chairman of the Court of Justice, and in 1545, he was granted the rank of a Secretary-to-the-Right in the Censorate (*tu-ch'a-yüan yü-ch'ien-tu yü-shih*; *Ming-shih* 73.1a) and supervisor of the Pao-ting area. In 1547, he was promoted to the rank of

長安嶺⁴³ there is East and West Tou-tzu-ying 斗子營 and Shih-chia-ch'ung 施家衝 and other places where are settled the Shih and Ch'e tribes."⁴⁴ It is plain from the text alone that this is a place inside the Chinese borders, although we find this information in the middle of a list of Mongols living outside the Hsüan-fu territory.

If we examine the maps of the *Hsüan-fu-chen t'u-shuo* we do not find the villages East and West Tou-tzu-ying and Shih-chia-ch'ung indicated there, but we find the habitats of the Mongols referred to in the legends of the maps. The drawings to be sure are sketches rather than maps, with directions and distances sometimes very much distorted, but they carry other valuable information. The explanation of the map of Yang-t'ien-pu 樣田堡 in the Lung-men-so area mentions the Mongols of the Ch'ang-an-ling and Tiao-o-pu 鵲堡 region.⁴⁵ The map of Tiao-o-pu has drawings of two Mongol tents in what seems to be the northeast of Ch'ang-an-ling and the southeast of Tiao-o-pu, and one tent on the southwest side of Tiao-o-pu, with the following text: "Tribes of the subject-barbarians Shih and others."⁴⁶

Besides the Shih tribes, there were, it seems, also other Mongols settled in the same region, for we find the following passage (p. 61b) in the explanation of the map on p. 61a: "The subject-barbarians

vice-president to the Right of the Censorate in charge of inspecting Shansi. Two years later he became a vice-president of the Board of Justice, but soon afterwards he was transferred in the same capacity to the Board of War. In 1550, Su was made governor-general of Hsüan-fu, Ta-t'ung, and Shansi, and in 1553, he became a president to the Right of the Censorate, and then was given the rank of President of the Board of War. He is not listed, however, in chapter 112 of the *Ming-shih*.

Su Yu was just going to retire when a military disaster occurred for which he, too, was blamed. A result was that Su was demoted and made a commoner. In 1567, however, the new (Lung-ch'ing) emperor restored him to his former ranks.

⁴³ Cf. the *Ming-shih* 40.18a; at a distance of 140 li east of Hsüan-fu.

⁴⁴ See the *KPSTC* 7.21a. The completelist of chieftains runs from p. 17b to 26b.

⁴⁵ *Hsüan-fu-chen t'u-shuo* (*Hsüan-lan-t'ang ts'ung-shu*, vol. 21), p. 60b. Tiao-o-pu is northeast of Hsüan-hua, east also of the modern Lung-men (or Lung-kuan), and southsouthwest of Ch'ih-ch'eng 赤城. Tiao-o-pu is known to the local population as Tiao-wo-pu 窠 "Eagle's nest," and this seems to be the original name. It is located in a very mountainous region and the name "Eagle's nest" thus seems well appropriate. The same popular name is also referred to in the *Huan-yü t'ung-chih* 寰宇通志 (*Hsüan-lan-t'ang ts'ung-shu*, second series, vol. 40) 7. 7b, as the name current under the Yüan. It is also mentioned by Yin Keng 尹耕 (1515-?), *Liang-chen san-kuan chih* 兩鎮三關志 3.23a (communication by Rev. W. Grootaers, cicm).

⁴⁶ *Hsüan-fu-chen t'u-shuo* (vol. 21), pp. 61ab.

Hai-t'a-li 海塔利 and others are settled and have their pastures in such places as an Ch'ing-shui-t'an 潭水清 and Ch'i-lung-kou 起龍溝, and the responsibility of comforting (the barbarians) and preventing (trouble) within the area belonging to the town,⁴⁷ is more than twice that of other towns. This place is known as a rich area and in former years garrison posts and fortified towns have often been attacked and destroyed. Whenever an old emplacement was picked out as worthy of being repaired, the governor ordered the garrison posts to be merged (into one place) so that there would be a fenced-off area for subject-barbarians (separated from the Chinese).'' Further the explanation (p. 62ab) to the map of Ch'ang-shen-ti-pu 長神地堡⁴⁸ refers to internal trouble among the Mongols and the Shih and Ch'e people settling inside China. Again on the map (p. 65a) of Ch'ang-an-ling, to the east of that town, we see drawings of tents with the following legend: "Tribe of the subject-barbarian chieftain Shih," and on the reverse side of the page we read the following text: "Recently East and West Tou-tzu-ying, Shih-chia-ch'ung, and other places have been settled with the Shih tribes and for more than forty years Chinese and Mongols have been living intermingled in the region South of the Passes (嶺南);⁴⁹ in such places which their footsteps have not yet reached, strong measures against them should be taken urgently." It is, of course, from this text that the passage of the *K'ou-pei san-t'ing chih* was taken.

We must try now to evaluate this information and to determine more closely the area where the Shih and Ch'e tribes were settled. Everything points to the area of Tiao-o-pu and Ch'ang-an-ling, east of Hsüan-hua. As a starting point we have the names of the villages East and West Tou-tzu-ying and Shih-chia-ch'ung. As we have seen in the foregoing lines, the maps of the *Hsüan-fu-chen t'u-chuo* put the drawings of the Mongol tents to the southeast of Tiao-o-pu and to the northeast of Ch'ang-an-ling; but since, as we have already noticed, these "maps" are only rough sketches, we need further and more accurate information to determine their exact location.

⁴⁷ The town in question is Tiao-o-pu, but I have been unable to find any information concerning the villages Ch'ing-shui-t'an and Ch'i-lung-kou.

⁴⁸ In the neighborhood of Lung-men-so (not the same locality as Lung-men, or Lung-kuan, which is much more to the west), east of Ch'ih-ch'eng. Cf. the *Ming-shih* 40.18a.

⁴⁹ Ling-nan, here, obviously means China Proper, south of the Great Wall; it seems to be an allusion to the name *Ling-pei* of the Yüan indicating Mongolia. Cf. the *Yüan-shih* 58.2a where *Ling-pei* is listed as one of the eleven provinces of the Yüan empire.

The *Hsüan-hua fu chih*,⁵⁰ under Lung-men-hsien, Nan-lu 南路,⁵¹ lists the village names of Shih-chia-ch'ung 施家冲, Shang-tou-tzu-ying 上斗子營 and Hsia-tou-tzu-ying 下; further the same gazetteer lists Shih-chia-ch'ung 衝 as one of six military posts (*hsün* 汛), under Ch'ang-an-ling. Characters 冲 and 衝 are nothing but variant readings for the same word. A map, or sketch, of the Lung-men-hsien area in the *Hsüan-hua fu chih* indicates Tou-tzu-ying (without the words *tung*, or *hsi*, *shang* or *hsia*) due west of Ch'ang-an-ling and southwest of Lung-men-hsien. It seems then that instead of northeast or east of Ch'ang-an-ling, as suggested by the *Hsüan-chen t'u-shuo*, we should look west of that place. We find the names of those villages back in later works which confirm the indication of the *Hsüan-hua fu chih*.

At present Lung-men is called Lung-kuan 龍關 hsien and the *Ch'a-ha-erh-sheng t'ung-chih* 察哈爾省通志 (1935)⁵² lists Shang-tou-ying 上斗營 and locates it south of the town of Lung-kuan, at a distance of 45 *li*; the same work lists also Hsia-tou-ying, also at a distance of 45 *li*, and Shih-chia-ts'un 村, at a distance of 60 *li*, both south of Lung-kuan. There can be no doubt that Shang-tou-ying and Hsia-tou-ying are the same as Tung-tou-tzu-ying and Hsi-tou-tzu-ying; and Shih-chia-ts'un is the same as Shih-chia ch'ung. Names of villages may undergo slight changes from period to period; or they may be written with different characters. It may even happen that a village is moved to another location, but its name usually survives the change. In our case, then, since we find exactly the three names mentioned together in both the *Hsüan-hua fu chih* of 1743 and in the modern *Ch'a-ha-erh-sheng t'ung-chih*, it beyond doubt that they are the villages mentioned in the *Hsüan-fu-chen t'u-shuo*, and that the Mongols of 1561 and 1572 were settled in the area south of Lung-men, southwest, not southeast, of Tiao-o-pu.

Ting Wen-chiang 丁文江, *Chung-hua min-kuo hsin ti-t'u* 中華民國新地圖, map 16, and a Manchukuo (in fact Japanese) military map of 1932 (大同元年) (sheet of Hsüan-hua, on a 1/500,000 scale. This map is based on much older ones) indicate a Hsia-t'ao-ying 下桃營 south of Lung-men and about 20 *li* northnortheast of the modern railway station of Sha-ch'eng 沙城. I have been unable to

⁵⁰ *Hsüan-hua fu chih* 8.39b; 10.8a.

⁵¹ The term *lu* during the Ch'ing indicated something different from the Circuit, subdivision of the Military District (*chen*) of the Ming.

⁵² *Ch'a-ha-erh-sheng t'ung-chih* 12.48b; 51b; 52a.

find detailed and sufficiently accurate maps of that area. Those I have been able to examine were all copied from older extant maps and errors are likely to be repeated. Japanese maps of North China often have mistaken characters. Nevertheless I do not doubt that Hsia-t'ao-ying is Hsia-tou-ying and that Shang-tou-ying and Shih-chia-ch'ung (or ts'un) are to be located somewhere in the immediate neighbourhood.

One objection to this identification may be that this area of Hsia-tou-ying, or Hsia-t'ao-ying, is much closer to Huai-lai of the Eastern Circuit of the Ming than to Lung-men, the seat of the Lower Northern Circuit, to which the Mongol settlement belonged. But this difficulty is more apparent than real. Hsia-t'ao-ying of the maps, written Hsia-tou-ying in the *Ch'a-ha-erh-sheng t'ung-chih*, although closer to Huai-lai, is within the territory of Lung-kuan-hsien (Lung-men); the reason for this probably is that during the Ming it already belonged to the Lower Northern Circuit, and the distances of this point to Lung-men in one direction and to Huai-lai in the other direction are of no real importance.

Before we discuss the *Shih-lu* text of 1572 in a more detailed manner we better quote another passage dated April 22, 1572,⁵³ where the kidnapping of Ko-ku of the Ch'e tribe is mentioned again, although we learn nothing substantially new: "A decree was issued to the effect that from now on, in all matters pertaining to military affairs, the offices dealing with such matters may not immediately divulge them to other offices. If before a memorial has been returned (with a decision on its contents), the officials in question should divulge its contents, they shall be arrested and punished. At that time the governor of Hsüan-fu had memorialised that Qung-tayiji had kidnapped the Ch'e barbarians. Before (a decision on the matter) had been returned, erroneous rumors spread throughout the Capital claimed that no less than two thousand Ch'e barbarians had been kidnapped. Those who in a panic maintained that we were on the verge of breaking the agreements⁵⁴ and those who got hold of the

⁵³ *Lung-ch'ing shih-lu* 68.4b.

⁵⁴ The agreements referred to here, of course, are the agreements of 1570-1571 with Altan-qan and his relatives who promised to put an end to their raids if the Ming would consent to open markets at regular intervals where the Mongols would be able to sell horses and cattle and purchase the goods they lacked such as clothes and food. It was feared that the Ch'e affair was going to provoke the Chinese into reprisals against the Mongols and thus bring back a period of border raids as before 1570.

memorial and leaked its contents, all acted recklessly. The (provincial) censor Chou Yü-te 周于德⁵⁵ made a report on the situation whereupon this decree was issued."

Rumors about the number of people of Ko-ku involved in the kidnapping may not be a sound basis for estimating their strength; at least they may give us an idea of the size of the group. The rumors maybe were not so far off the mark. After all Hsüan-hua is only a short way from Peking. But be this as it may, a small number of people probably would never have caused such rumors. It seems to me that we may estimate at several hundred up to a thousand the number of people under Ko-ku abducted by Sengge-dügürengqung-taiyiji. Although we are not told explicitly that Ko-ku and the other people who had been carried off were later set free by Sengge, we may reasonably believe so. Indeed, from 1570 on, the most in-

⁵⁵ Chou Yü-te has a brief biographical notice in Ho Ch'u-kuang, *Lan-t'ai fa-chien lu* 18.27a. According to this notice, his *tsu* was Chen-chi 貞吉, and he was a native of Hsiang-fu 祥符 in Honan province. He became a *chin-shih* in 1568, and in 1571, from an officer in charge of public safety (*t'ui-kuan*; *Ming-shih* 75.19b) in Chi-nan, Shantung, he became a provincial censor of Chianghsi. In 1573, he was ordered to supervise the salt industry of the Huai basin, but soon he was sent back to Chianghsi as *chien-shih*, and after several other promotions he was made an adviser (*ts'an-cheng*; *Ming-shih* 75.9a) in the provincial administration of Shansi. In 1595, he was removed from office and went to live in retirement.

The word *Shansi* in this note certainly is a misprint for *Shantung*, and his transfer from Chianghsi to Shantung is mentioned in the *Shih-lu* under the date of January 6, 1579 (*Wan-li shih-lu* 82.3b; Tamura, *Manshû hen* 3, p. 698). Moreover, the term *ts'an-cheng* seems to be wrong, too, for the same text from the *Shih-lu* tells that from a *chien-shih* in Chianghsi he became a *chien-shih* in Shantung, with additional duties of a supervisor over the military defense installations and agricultural colonies of Liaotung. Liaotung, at that time, was a dependency of Shantung province. I wonder whether the expression *chien-shih* does not indicate the office of a *chien-ch'a yü-shih*: provincial censor (*Ming-shih* 73.1b).

Chou's name appears a few more times in the *Shih-lu*: on July 24, 1580 (*Wan-li shih-lu* 101.4a; Tamura, *Manshû hen* 4, p. 27) he was made a junior judge (*fu-shih*) in recognition for a signal victory won in Liaotung. On April 20, 1581, (*Wan-li shih-lu* 110.5a; Tamura, *Manshû hen* 4, p. 36), Chou and other officers in Liaotung received new rewards, but on July 6, 1581, Chou Yü-te and a number of officers barely escaped being arrested and questioned for a defeat suffered at the hand of the Mongols (*Wan-li shih-lu* 113.2b; *Manshû hen* 4, p. 40). My main source for this note have been the Haneda-Tamura excerpts from the *Ming Shih-lu*, and it is more than probable that Chou-Yü-te's name appears more often in the complete edition of the *Shih-lu*.

Chu I-tsun 朱彝尊. *Ming shih-tsung* 明詩練 49.5a, mentions one Chou Yü-te, a native of Huai-nan, and whose *hao* was Nan-t'ung 南墩, but this seems to be another person.

fluent princes of Southern Mongolia, such as Altan-qan and many others, were anxious to enforce the agreements with China and preserve the peace in order not to lose their tribute and trade privileges, and since on the Chinese side so many high officials considered the incident of importance for the maintenance of peace on the borders, we may be sure that they took advantage of Altan-qan's authority to compel Sengge to return the prisoners. At any rate when circa 1590 the Shih tribe left China on its own volition, it numbered two thousand individuals and in this number must be included the Ch'e group, those who had been returned to China, and those who had never been captured.

Two thousand foreigners in a relatively small area cannot be considered a small group. How did they live? From the aforementioned *Shih-lu* texts and apparently also from the drawings of tents on the Ming maps referred to in the foregoing pages we may conclude that they lived in tents, that they had their herds, and although they were completely surrounded by a Chinese population and perhaps partially lived behind the walls of fortified villages, we may draw the conclusion that practically they lived in the same way as they had been used to in Mongolia.

Wu Tui's plan of building two or three walled villages was not devised for the sole reason of the Mongols' self-defense, but also, and it seems, much more so, in order to keep them separated from the Chinese. We have seen how other writers advocated separation of the two races. Since we do not know that the walled villages were actually built, we can only speculate. Yet even if the Mongols had to live the way Wu Tui planned in his memorial, this certainly did not prevent the Mongols from having daily intercourse with the Chinese population of the neighbouring villages.

One other important question is whether the Mongols practiced agriculture. Since the Mongols lived in the middle of a Chinese population they certainly gradually took up some agriculture, if they had not already done so in Mongolia. As I have already shown in another study, agriculture was not entirely unknown to the Mongols; moreover for almost the whole duration of the 16th century there had been Chinese prisoners and immigrants in Southern Mongolia who practiced agriculture. Many Mongols must have learned a lot from the Chinese, and the closer to the borders the more the Mongols must have learned and adopted from their neighbours.

One important remark to be made here, is that this part of North

China certainly was not heavily populated and there must have been plenty of open spaces where the Mongols were able to move around with their horses, cattle, and sheep. This was also a consideration made by Wu Wui. One question we do not hear of is whether different ways of doing things ever led to conflicts between Chinese and Mongols as happens almost daily in those areas of Inner Mongolia where Mongols and Chinese live closely together.

During the Ming the region of Hsüan-hua and Ta-t'ung was called K'ou-peï 口北 or K'ou-wai 口外 "outside the passes," or *Sai-wai* 塞外 "outside the borders," names at present applying only to the area north of the Great Wall, the southern rim of Mongolia occupied by Chinese farmers, and Mongolia in general. Although militarily important as cover for North China in general and for the capital in particular, and although completely under Chinese administration up to the line of the present-day Great Wall, the area of Hsüan-hua was a border area and an out-lying district. Hsüan-hua was (and still is) separated from the rest of China by a southern branch of the Great Wall, and the Ming heavily depended on this secondary branch to defend the metropolitan area. As a matter of fact the southern branch of the Great Wall is much more of a wall and a defense and has always been kept in better repair than the northern branch which we are used to call the Great Wall *simpliciter*.

In order to understand that the region given to the Shih and Ch'e Mongols, Ch'ang-an-ling and neighbourhood, was a frontier area, and cannot have been too densely populated, we must keep in mind that at the beginning of the period the Ming emperors had built their first great wall in this very area. Indeed the first wall built after the Yüan was a construction running from Ch'ang-an-ling to Yeh-hu-ling and Hsi-ma-ling, west of Kalgan. A decree of September 12, 1412,⁵⁶ ordered the build of a wall with stones and dig a deep ditch in order to stop Mongol incursions. This was, of course, but a very small section of the present-day Great Wall. The more striking feature, however, is that instead of building a defense line around the whole mountainous area of Ch'ih-ch'eng and Tu-shih-k'ou (settled by Chinese), Yung-lo's "Great Wall" ran in a straight line east-west, at a good distance south of the modern Great Wall. This means of course that the main military line of defense ran along that east-west line. But if there were Chinese settled north of the 1412 line, as certainly three were, we may conclude that the whole region

⁵⁶ *Yung-lo shih-lu* 84.6a; Haneda, *Môko hen* I, p. 418; *Ming-shih* 5.5b.

was considered rather marginal and not too important. However, we should not forget that long before the days of the Ch'e and Shih Mongol settlement a more definitive Great Wall had been constructed on its present location, and the situation of 1560-1590 was no longer the same as it had been at the beginning of the 15th century. Yet the area must have remained rather thinly populated. On the whole the soil of the Hsüan-hua region is rather poor and it must have been so during the Ming, too. In the middle of the 15th century large stretches of land were not even open to agriculture, as we can see for example of the Shun-sheng valley,⁵⁷ and the government always had great difficulty in keeping the local garrisons supplied with food, clothes, and other supplies.

The arrival in such a region of new people, who gradually were to become Chinese, perhaps was welcomed from this point of view that, it was hoped, once they had started to adopt Chinese ways of life they would help in the development of the land. But this was no more than hope for the future. In the meantime the Mongols continued to live from their herds and from subsidies granted by the government in money, cloth, silks, cotton, etc. Besides these yearly subsidies granted to all Mongols on good terms with the Ming, the Shih and Ch'e tribes also received a monthly allowance in grain. This allowance, it is true, is nowhere mentioned except at the time of their sudden departure in 1591, when, as we shall see, it was suspended. On the whole, however, the addition of a few new people who would be able to support themselves with their herds and with those allowances and a little marginal agriculture cannot have raised any problem.

Mongols established in China were not free from all obligations. One feature of the Mongols in China during the whole Ming period is that as a rule they were incorporated in the army. We are not told explicitly that the Shih and the Ch'e at this time were organized in the regular troops garrisoned in the area, but we have seen how Wu Tui contemplated to use them as a sort of people's militia first to defend themselves, and then as prospective auxiliaries who occasionally would be relied upon to lend assistance to the regular troops. The Mongols being settled in the southernmost part of the

⁵⁷ For the location of Shung-sheng see note 42. For references to uncultivated lands in that region see the (*Cheng-t'ung*) *Ying-tsung shih-lu* 208.10a (*Ying-t'ai* 26); *T'ien-shun shih-lu* 326.3b; *Ch'eng-hua shih-lu* 5.14b; 6.7a; *Chia-ching shih-lu* 123.13a; Tamura, *Môkoken* 3, pp. 408-409, 644; *Môko hen* 4 pp. 6, 7; *Môko hen* 6, p. 7.

so-called Lower-Northern Circuit of the military district of Hsüan-fu were considered as a rampart of the Eastern Circuit, comprising such towns as Huai-lai and Yung-ning.

The Shih Mongols could expect that Sengge-dügereng and other chieftains would attack them again if an opportunity presented itself. Sengge had once before conquered the Shih tribe, and we have seen how he carried Ko-ku and many of his people into captivity. Such raids could happen again in spite of the fact that the Mongols had agreed to respect the borders. Perhaps Sengge-dügüreng reasoned that the Shih and the Ch'e tribes still were his subjects and if he tried to reconquer them this had nothing to do with the Sino-Mongol agreements concerning respect of the borders. It appears, however, that sometimes it was the Shih and Ch'e Mongols who were the cause of trouble. At any rate, we are told that in the eighth month of 1571,⁵⁸ the people of Shih The Elder and Shih The Younger stole horses, oxen and sheep from Sengge-dügüreng qung-tayiji. The latter sent messengers to complain to the governor-general, Wang Ch'ung-ku. According to these messengers, in 1567, the Mongols had not invaded Chinese territories because their soothsayers had warned them that the year of the hare (1567) would bring them no luck if they attacked; thereupon had followed the surrender of Altan-qan's grandson and the agreements of 1570. The messengers bluntly asked the governor-general why he had ordered the Shih Mongols to steal horses and cattle, and they threatened to invade the borders if the horses and cattle were not returned forthwith. Threats were hurled back and forth and the Chinese warned Altanqan and his younger brother, the Old Bâtur, that Sengge's behavior would result in new wars, Sengge on the other hand tried to convince Altan-qan to support his demands not only for the return of the stolen animals but also for the extradition of the "subject-barbarians" meaning, of course, the Shih Mongols. Altan-qan, however, who appreciated the situation much more realistically, refused to support his son.

Later during the same year, as new incidents had occurred, the two brothers Shih The Elder and Shih The Younger were called before Chinese officials and were ordered to restrain their own people; and they were further told to meet Sengge-dügüreng somewhere on the borders and make peace with him. Sengge thereupon married Shih The Younger's daughter.⁵⁹ On another

⁵⁸ *Wan-li wu-kung lu*, ch. 8, p. 184.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 186, 187.

occasion Shih The Elder stole two hundred horses and oxen from Altan-qan's brother, the Old Bâtur, who was so infuriated that he took vengeance on the Chinese and captured seven men and stole two donkeys. For years such incidents continued to poison Sino-Mongol relations and endanger the peace so precariously established in 1570. These incidents and Sengge-dügürend's raid referred to in the *Shih-lu* on March 19, 1572, tend to show that life in Mongolia had remained very much the same as it is described in such works as the *Secret History of the Mongols*, the *Erdeni-yin tobči*, the *Altan tobči*, etc.

The kidnapping of Ko-ku is also briefly mentioned in Wu Tui's biography with this additional information that after Ko-ku's capture his two wives (pi-chi 比姑, *beyiĭi*) came to live on the training grounds (教場) of Lung-men, obviously in order to find greater security in case of new raids. Lung-men, however, is located very close to the Great Wall, and Wu Tui ordered the two *beyiĭis* away from the borders. We may assume that they went to the south and settled in the region of Hsia-tou-ying, Shang-tou-ying, etc., where the main body of their people were soon to settle, or had already settled.

We have already said a few words of the customary suspicion of some Chinese officials regarding the Mongols. Although Wu Tui was well aware of the services that the Mongols could render to the country, his plan provided for a complete separation of Mongols and Chinese, obviously in order to prevent "contamination." The next time the Shih and Ch'e Mongols are spoken of in the *Shih-lu* is on the date of August 9, 1572,⁶⁰ where we find the same suspicion and distrust voiced against them. This is a memorial on defense by Shih Mao-hua 石茂華.⁶¹ According to him, no Mongol could be trusted

⁶⁰ *Wan-li shih-lu* 3.3a.

⁶¹ Shih Mao-hua has a biographical notice in Chiao Hung, *Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu* 57.60a-63a, and a shorter one in the *Kuo-ch'ao ching-sheng fen-chün jen-wu k'ao* 97.19b-21a. Shih was a native of I-tu, in the province of Shantung. His *tzu* was Chün-ts'ai 君采 and his *hao*, I-an 毅菴. In 1543, he successfully passed the provincial examinations, and the next year he became a *chün-shih*. His first appointment was that of governor of Hsün-hsien in Honan. He was soon transferred to the capital. As an official in the Board of Revenue he had an argument with a powerful general by the name of Ch'iu Lün 仇鸞 concerning provisions for the army. Chiao Hung's text says that "in the 6th year" he became governor of Yang-chou, and probably we should read "26th year of Chia-ching:" 1547. In 1559, he was made a junior judge in Shansi but soon he had to resign on account of the death of one of his parents. As soon as the mourning period was over he became junior judge in

because all were planning and scheming against China and were always ready to break their promises. Shih mentions the three Mongol tribes To-yen (Dö'en), T'ai-ning, and Fu-yü (in the modern province of Jehol), who falsely claimed to be vassals and Outer Defenses; then he speaks of the Shih and Ch'e, who, according to him, pretended to maintain friendly relations with China and received their yearly subsidies, yet in fact harbored rebellious intentions, kept in touch with such Mongol chieftains as Tümen-qayan,⁶² the Old Batur, (the prince of the) Yüngsiyebü,⁶³ and Sengge-dügüreng qung-tayiji himself.

Ten years later, on November 13, 1582,⁶⁴ we meet with a new warning against the Shih and Ch'e Mongols, without any explanation. This time the warning comes from an official in the Central government named T'ien Ta-nien 田大年⁶⁵ who presented a plan

Honan, and in 1564, he was promoted to the rank of an adviser in the administration of Shensi province. In 1566, he became a provincial judge (*An-ch'a-shih*; *Ming-shih* 75.111a) but barely one month later he was again promoted to be an inspector in Kansu with the rank of a secretary to the Right in the Censorate. In this capacity he was responsible for the defense of his territory against the Mongols. In 1573, after another period of mourning for his grandmother he was made governor-general of the "Three Borders" of Shensi (*Shan-hsi san-pien*; these three were the military districts of Ku-yüan, Yen-an, and Ning-hsia. The name *San-pien* is still in use among the local people) with the title of president to the Right of the Censorate and vice-president (*shih-lang*; *Ming-shih* 72.20b) to the Left of the Board of War. In 1577, his three years' tenure came to an end whereupon he had to report on his administration, and then he retired. His retirement, however, came to an end in 1583 when he was sent back to his post in Shensi. The country was suffering from a famine and many people were threatened with starvation. Shih relieved the suffering of the people by distributing grain from the governmental granaries. Six months after his return, in the same year, he died and was given the posthumous name of Kung-hsiang 恭襄.

⁶² Tümen, a distant relative of Altan-qan, was the direct heir of the Mongol emperors; his power, however, had become little more than nominal. His territory was the northern part of the (now-abolished) province of Jehol. When Altan-qan and other princes of the Ordes and the Tümed made peace with China in 1570, Tümen refused to go along with them and for a long time continued his raids especially against the Chinese settlements of Liaotung.

⁶³ The person referred to here under the name of Yüngsiyebü is either Altan-qan's younger brother Odqan-bodidara who inherited the clan of the Yüngsiyebü, or possibly his eldest son Engkeder. In the Chinese sources both father and son are usually named after the clan of their subjects.

⁶⁴ *Wan-li shih-lu* 129.5a.

⁶⁵ There is a biographical notice on T'ien Ta-nien by Kao Ch'eng-yen 高承埏 in his *Ch'ung-chen chung-chieh-lu* 崇禎忠節錄, and by Shu Ho-te 舒赫德 in his *Sheng-ch'ao hsün-chieh chu-ch'en lu* 勝朝殉節諸臣錄. Neither of these works was available to me.

in eight points on how to prevent difficulties with the Mongols on the far side of the Great Wall, especially under Altan-qan's son Sengge (Altan-qan had died in the beginning of the year, and Sengge on succeeding him had moved his residence to Kuei-hua-ch'eng, mod. Sui-yüan). One of the points of his plan was to make impossible all relations and intercourse across the borders between Chinese and Mongols. One other point was to watch closely all the goings-on among the people of the tribes under the two chiefs Ch'e⁶⁶ and Shih and take all necessary precautions so as to prevent them from ever becoming a threat. The Ming government, of course, for decades had known that before the 1570 agreements many Chinese immigrants and prisoners in Altan-qan's territory had been working for the Mongols. And against such a background there had always been a desire to find means to make all intercourse between Chinese and Mongols impossible, or at least discourage it. But we wonder why T'ien mentions the Ch'e and Shih Mongols in particular.

Charges of evil intentions repeated without any concrete evidence are not likely to convince any reader. But when we read that the Shih and Ch'e Mongols were plotting with Sengge-dügüreng qung-tayiji, their one time enemy from whose tyranny they had freed themselves when they first surrendered and who had tried to reconquer them a second time, we may be quite sure that the suspicion of Wu Tui, T'ien Ta-nien, and Shih Mao-hua are nothing but generalizations repeated over and over again.

Yet if we see no reason to suspect the Shih and Ch'e tribes of any desire to betray China, not all was right with their relations with the Chinese. Eight years after this plan was submitted by T'ien-Ta-nien, on September 8, 1590,⁶⁷ all of a sudden we read that the chieftain (*kuan, noyan*) Shih The Younger, etc., with two thousand men and woman, had crossed the borders back into Mongolia. The *Shih-lu* passage is very brief, and, of course, only a summarized version of a report or a memorial to the throne. No details are given, and no explanation or reason for the flight of the Mongols is offered. But the strange thing is that nothing is said against the Mongols beyond the bare fact of their departure. It is further extremely revealing that the Board of War accused the border officials of failure in their duty of "soothing and controlling" the barbarians and suggested

⁶⁶ The *Shih-lu* reads *ting* 定 instead of *ch'e*.

⁶⁷ *Wan-li shih-lu* 226.4a.

that they all be demoted. If we only knew what they were guilty of in the eyes of the Board of War!

Commenting on later events, namely the eventual return of the Mongols into the Chinese fold, the *Hsüan-hua fu chih*⁶⁸ quotes a short text from the *Hsü Hsüan-chen chih* 續宣鎮志 and then goes on with a text with the heading *yüan-chu* 原注 "original comment," apparently also taken from the same work. In this "original comment" we read first about the surrender of the Shih tribe, and the subsequent arrival of the Ch'e group, and their settlement in the Ch'ang-an-ling area. The text goes on to say: "Thereupon they were oppressed by the officials and An-t'u ([Γ]altu) from the Northern Tribes induced them to rebel and depart." Apparently the compilers of the *Hsü Hsüan-chen fu* had access to more information than the fragments we are able to gather in the *Wan-li shih-lu*, and although we do not know what exactly had happened it is easy to see that some Chinese had overstepped their authority and oppressed the Mongols in order to get rich, or to get promoted, or both. The Mongols became increasingly dissatisfied with conditions in their new habitat and renewed contacts with princes in Mongolia. An-t'u was a son of Sengge-dügüreng⁶⁹ and father-in-law of Shih The Younger;⁷⁰ it seems thus quite logical that Shih should contact him rather than anyone else, and listen to his advice. We may add here that Sengge-dügüreng, the former enemy of the Shih tribe, had been dead for a few years, and with Sengge-dügüreng's son and

⁶⁸ *Hsüan-hua fu chih* 34.37a.

⁶⁹ See my *The Genealogical Tables of the Descendants of Dayan-qan* (The Hague, 1958), pp. 99-101, and the *San-yün ch'ou-tsu k'ao* 2.28b29a. According to the Genealogical Tables, An-t'u's territory was just across the border from Lung-men, as close as one could be to the Shih Mongols in the Hsüan-hua region. But the *Hsüan-fu-chen t'u-shuo*, map of Ch'ang-shen-ti (*Hsüan-lan-t'ang ts'ung-shu*, vol. 21, p. 62a), indicates his territory outside the border of this latter town, which is much more to the eastward. Perhaps this discrepancy is due to the distorted distances and directions of those maps. But the information of the *Hsüan-fu-chen t'u-shuo* may have some basis in fact, too. Indeed, in the *Wan-li wu-kung lu*, ch. 13, pp. 118-121, where An-t'u's name is rendered as Kan-t'u, we are told that his territory was in the east, in the modern province of Jehol. An-t'u, or Γaltu, must have lived first outside Lung-men and moved towards the east, and the geographical indications found in the Ming works may refer to any of the habitats successively occupied by him. Kan-t'u, incidentally, is the more regular transcription for the original Γaltu. Kan-t'u's biography in the *Wan-li wu-kung lu* goes up to 1595 only, but in the *Shih-lu* he is mentioned as late as 1627. See *T'ien-ch'i shih-lu* 77.7b; Tamura, *Manshû hen* 6, p. 566.

⁷⁰ *Wan-li shih-lu* 248.4b; *Ming-shih chi-shih pen-mo* 明史紀事本末 (ed. Commercial Press, in 4 vols.), ch. 60, p. 25.

successor, Čürüke⁷¹ (spelled Ch'e-li-k'o in the Chinese sources), there seemed to be less danger of falling again under a tyranny similar to Sengge's.

This was not the first time that local Chinese officials were to blame for causing friction if not outright trouble between the Ming government and the Mongols who had recognized the Ming suzerainty. On more than one occasion earlier emperors had issued warnings to the officials against abuses of authority and had refused to take action against "rebels" who really had done nothing but try to defend themselves against oppression. In the case of the Hsüan-hua Mongols, if it was again corrupt local officials who were to blame for the signal failure of the Ming policy towards foreigners, we shall soon see what they were going to do in order to rehabilitate themselves.

For three months the flight of the Mongols was not mentioned again; it was also the first time anyone came forward with a plan against the Mongol "rebellion." On December 16, 1590,⁷² an inspector from Chih-li, Lien Piao 連標,⁷³ after investigating the matter reported that the army ought to intercept the fugitives and cut off the way to their "old lair," meaning that the army had to strike out and stop the Mongols in their flight towards the north. The Mongols, as we have seen, had left in the first days of September, and a plan presented only in December seems a little belated, to say the least. But we should remember that the Mongols were travelling with all their people, including women and children; with their horses but also with oxen and sheep, which travel at a much slower pace; further with their tents and all their other equipment.

⁷¹ I follow the orthography of his name as it is spelled by Rasipungsuy in his *Mongγol ulus-un teüke*, p. 685. Čürüke was An-t'u's elder brother.

⁷² *Wan-li shih-lu* 229.7b. The *KPSTC* summarizes the two passages of September 8 and December 16 into one sentence.

⁷³ Lien Piao has a biographical notice in the *Lan-t'ai fa-chien lu* 20.15b. His *tsu* was Meng-tsun 孟集. He was a native of Yü-chou, Honan province. His elder brother Ko 格 was provincial censor of Chianghsi. Lien Piao became a *chin-shih* in 1583, and in 1588, from an official in-charge-of-travelling-envoys (*hsing-jen*; *Ming-shih* 74.15a) he was selected to become a provincial censor of Shantung. In 1591, he became an inspector of Hsüan-fu and Ta-t'ung and in 1592, of Chen-ting; in 1593, he occupied the same position in Shantung; in 1594, he was examining judicial documents in the Metropolitan area, and in 1597, Lien was promoted to be vice-magistrate of Shun-t'ien (*Ming-shih* 74.21a), but he was soon given a leave of absence in order to substitute for the vice-chairman of the Court of Imperial Equipage. Then he became its chairman. In 1607, he rose to be a vice-president to the Right of the Censorate in charge of inspection of Hsüan-fu.

This way they necessarily had to travel in short stages, in continuous search of water and grass, so that even after three months a quick thrust into Mongolia may have had some chance of catching up with them and compelling them to return to China. But whatever the practical side of Lien Piao's suggestion, it clearly implies that for three months nobody had done a thing to quell the "rebellion" and keep the Mongols within Chinese territory or bring them back.

In spite of Lien's report nothing was done to cope with the situation. The plan, probably, had come too late, and the emperor decreed that the Mongols would be strictly forbidden ever to return to China, and their subsidies and monthly allowances of grain which recently had been increased, were all suspended.

The passage of September 8, 1590, mentions only Shih The Younger by name, and although there is a character *teng* "etc." following the name, I assume that it was Shih The Younger who had become the leader of the two groups originally known as Shih and Ch'e. The elder brother will not be heard of again, but the younger brother will subsequently be mentioned several times. I do not think that the Ch'e group had survived as a separate and independent unit, and since both groups had been living together from the very beginning, it must have come under Shih The Younger's leadership. Lien Piao's report of December 16, 1590, mentions both names Shih and Ch'e, which seems to go against this reasoning. In fact the names Shih and Ch'e will continue to crop up in later texts, in my opinion not so much as a matter of factual information but rather as a well-known formula under which this group of Mongols had been referred to since 1560 or thereabout. As in those early days there were two distinct groups we may surmise that they had been continuously referred to as *Shih-Ch'e erh pu* "the two groups Shih and Ch'e". It was easy for such a formula to remain in use even after the organization of the two original groups had been radically changed. Moreover the name of Shih The Younger, or literally Shih The Second, lent itself to a misunderstanding. Some copyists may have thought that character *erh* did not refer to Shih but to both Shih and Ch'e, and thus they may have supplied a character Ch'e, and inserted another character *pu*, or *i* "barbarians" after *erh*. An example of such a "correction" seems to occur in the *K'ou-pei san-t'ing-chih*⁷⁴ where the four characters *Shih-Ch'e erh ch'iu*: "the two chieftains Shih and Ch'e" correspond to the formula 史首 (for 酋:

⁷⁴ KPSTC 11.28a; compare the *Wan-li shih-lu* 247.7b.

chieftain Shih?) in the *Shih-lu* (see below). However this may be, we need not attach too much importance to this question of names.

As we have seen, on the orders of December 16, 1590, by the emperor, the Ming armies did not attempt to bring the fleeing Mongols back. But once back in Mongolia, the Mongols did not give up all hope of either receiving the subsidies previously granted to them, or by some other means sharing in the wealth of China. Thus, as the compilers of the *Shih-lu* put it in the entry of July 1, 1591,⁷⁵ "after the two chieftains⁷⁶ Shih and Ch'e had been allowed as foreign barbarians (*wai-i*) to herd and reside⁷⁷ inside the borders and support themselves for more than thirty years, one day they turned their backs (on China), rebelled, and crossed the borders. The emperor ordered to suspend their subsidies and not to allow them a second time. Yet (Shih The Younger) still desiring the subsidies, demanded them and ordered his son Chi-mei 吉妹 to steal and drive off the oxen and sheep of the population (in the neighbourhood) of the Great Wall [*pien-ch'iang* 邊牆] in the Yung-ning (region)." This passage goes on to tell how the governor-general Hsiao Ta-heng 蕭大亨⁷⁸ ordered one of his generals by the name of Hang Ta-ts'ai 杭大才⁷⁹ to march against the Mongols and capture one of the sons of the leaders and use him as a hostage⁸⁰ in order to force Shih The Younger to give up the booty he had captured from the Chinese. The general Hang marched out and, once on the borders, tried to negotiate with the Mongols, but he was shot at and wounded. The Chinese thereupon attacked the Mongols and captured eleven prisoners, Shih's son Hung-hai 紅亥 and his daughter Ko-chen 哥鎮 being among them. Fifteen Mongols were killed during the encounter and Shih's wife Neng-t'a-erh-ta(i?) 能他兒大 was one of them. In view of these results, Hang Ta-ts'ai begged the emperor to grant special rewards to his soldiers.⁸¹

⁷⁵ *Wan-li shih-lu* 236.4b5a; *KPSTC* 11.27b28a (summarized).

⁷⁶ The *Shih-lu* reads *shou*, corresponding to the *KPSTC* *ch'iu*.

⁷⁷ The reading of the *Shih-lu* is *mu-liu* 牧留, corresponding to *shou-liu* 收 in the *KPSTC*.

⁷⁸ For a brief biographical sketch of Hsiao Ta-heng see pp. 117-121 of my article "*Pei-lou foung-sou*, Les Coutumes des Esclaves Septentrionaux," in *Monumenta Serica* 10, 1945.

⁷⁹ I have been unable to find anything concerning this person.

⁸⁰ The *Shih-lu* reads *tun* 盾, no doubt, a scribal error for 質 *chih*, which we find in the *KPSTC*.

⁸¹ The rewards were granted on October 31: *Wan-li shih-lu* 240.12b.

On August 19, 1591,⁸² the Shih-Ch'e Mongols are mentioned once more in a memorial, but in terms so vague that we learn nothing new from this text.

Although they had evidently broken off all peaceful relations with China, the Shih Mongols continued their efforts to get a share of the subsidies and other advantages accorded to many southern Mongol princes, especially Altan-qan's sons and brothers and their descendants. Shih The Younger, as we have already seen, tried to work through his relative Faltu. On September 29, 1591,⁸³ a certain Mu Lai-fu 穆來輔⁸⁴ memorialized: "Barbarian subjects (名下) of the barbarian Shih from the west together with Tatars from Kan-t'u's 趕兔 (Faltu)⁸⁵ camp demand the subsidies. Moreover more than one hundred Tatar robbers have laid an ambush, but the commander-in-chief (of the said area?) Ma Ch'eng-en 馬承思,⁸⁶ at the head of 'house-slaves' (家丁: private soldiers?), attacked them and killed five barbarians." The Board of War replied: "Since the chieftain Shih rebelled, his subsidies have been suspended, and now that he demands the subsidies again we ought to attack him. Faltu's camp is not under the jurisdiction of the chieftain Shih, and since his [i.e. Faltu's] subsidies are administered by the authorities of Chi-chou 薊州,⁸⁷ how dare he support (Shih's) demands! As to the five dead, they were the subjects of the chieftain Shih, but may be (some of the dead) were Faltu's subjects, and perhaps their deaths could become a pretext for Faltu's tribe to renew border incidents. This affair ought to be investigated."

⁸² *Wan-li shih-lu* 238.2a.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 239.8a.

⁸⁴ I have been unable to find anything on this person except for two passages in the *Shih-lu*. In the entry of July 23, 1588, he is mentioned with the rank of a supervising censor (*chi-shih-chung*) to the Left in the Board of Revenue (*Ming-shih* 74.5a) (*Wan-li shih-lu* 200.2a; Tamura, *Manshū hen* 4, p. 119), and on January 31, 1592, he is mentioned as an inspector of the military establishments of the districts of Chi-chou, Ch'ang-p'ing, and Pao-ting in modern Hopei province (*Wan-li shih-lu* 243.9b; *Manshū hen* 4, p. 160).

⁸⁵ Kan-t'u is the same person as An-t'u mentioned before. See note 69.

⁸⁶ I have been unable to find anything concerning this person.

⁸⁷ Every Mongol tribe, or rather its prince, who had relations with China was entitled to send the tribute, but his tribute mission had to follow a well determined route; he also had a market at a well defined place, and he was not entitled to present himself at another market. All his affairs were handled by the Chinese authorities under whose jurisdiction his market town came. Faltu in these matters belonged to the east and came under the jurisdiction of the military authority of Chi-chou, whereas the Shih Mongols had always been under the jurisdiction of the military district of Hsüan-fu.

As has already been explained, after 1570 it had become the custom to let Altan-qan and a few other prominent Mongol princes supervise their own subjects and relatives and let them enforce the agreements gone into with China. Very often, if an incident occurred on the borders, the Ming officials would content themselves with sending a notice to Altan-qan and ask him to restrain the offending Mongol. It happened that if the Chinese arrested a Mongol for any real or alleged crime, they sent him to Altan-qan or to another influential prince and let him judge and punish the guilty. The trade and tribute privileges were a mighty weapon in the hands of the Chinese. In the case of Altan-qan, for instance, or any other nobleman, should he refuse to punish a Mongol guilty of attacking the border population, the Chinese government could always suspend the trade privileges of the negligent nobleman. In this way the Chinese were able to prevent much trouble or to restore the peace without much fighting or other difficulties. But the offenders were Mongols under the authority of Mongol princes. In 1590-1591 the Ming tried to use the same means to force the Shih Mongols although these were no longer the subjects of any Mongol nobleman, but were the subjects of the Ming emperor. But even this was not without precedent. In 1570, as a price for peace and trade privileges, Altan-qan had to extradite a number of Chinese refugees and criminals living in his territory who for years had actively supported him and often had instigated and directed predatory raids on the borders.

We should also add that from time to time great Mongol princes fell out of favor with the Ming and for some reason lost their trade and tribute privileges. The enforcement of the agreements or the punishment of some of their subjects who had violated the borders or had otherwise been found guilty, was a good occasion for those princess to recapture the good graces of the Chinese.

In 1591, the most prominent among the princes of southern Mongolia was Altan-qan's grandson and successor Čürüke. He had recently gone to the west with his armies and had caused considerable damage in Kansu. For this reason his tribute and trade rights had been abolished for more than two years and although he eagerly desired those privileges back the Chinese had refused to restore them to him. This was an excellent opportunity for the Ming government, and we read in the *Shih-lu* on the date of October 19,

1591,⁸⁸ that the government demanded from him the extradition of the fugitive Mongols. Further the military of Chi-chou, Hsüan-fu, and Ta-t'ung were ordered to ready themselves for an expedition, and warnings were issued to Faltu (here again spelled An-t'u) not to lend any assistance to the "rebels." Čürüke is not mentioned by name on this passage of the *Shih-lu*, but later events will show that this demand was sent to him.

Shih The Younger and his father-in-law, Faltu, however, did not give up so easily; indeed in the entry of November 10, 1591,⁸⁹ we read again that the Shih Mongols allied with Faltu, tore down parts of the Chinese defenses and the Great Wall, and with a force of over two thousand horsemen invaded the countryside pillaging and killing as they went. Since we know that the Shih Mongols had left China with no more than some two thousand individuals, including women and children, less than half of those two-thousand invaders can have been Shih The Younger's own soldiers. The others must have belonged to Faltu. The Chinese troops under the command of Hang Ta-ts'ai gave a very poor account of themselves and many officers and men were punished. The irony is that this happened only a few days after they had received their rewards for bravery against the same Mongols during the engagement of July 1, 1591.

On November 16, 1591,⁹⁰ spying activities of the Shih and Ch'e Mongols are mentioned in a memorial by the Board of War, but the reference to the Mongols is so brief and couched in such general terms that one doubts whether this is not another empty formula rather than a reference to specific events. On April 23, 1592,⁹¹ a new memorial by the Board of War stated that Čürüke, desiring to rehabilitate himself in the eyes of the Ming government and to regain his trade privileges, had offered to capture Shih. Čürüke's offer, which had first been suggested, if not demanded by the Chinese, was compared to the extradition by Altan-qan of a few Chinese traitors in his domains.

One month later, in a new memorial of May 25, 1592,⁹² we read that Čürüke indeed had arrested the chieftain Shih, and in the entry

⁸⁸ *Wan-li shih-lu* 240.5a; summarized in the *KPSTC* 11.28a. Also mentioned in the *Hsüan-hua fu chih* 34.37a, under the heading "original commentary" apparently quoted from the *Hsü Hsüan-fu chen chih*.

⁸⁹ *Wan-li shih-lu* 240.16b.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 240.17b.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 246.4b.

⁹² *Ibid.* 247.7b.

of June 4,⁹³ the *Shih-lu* summarizes a memorial by Hsiao Ta-heng in which the governor-general first repeats that Čürüke had arrested "the rebel official Shih The Younger with his officers" and in fact had already extradited them. As a result, Čürüke was praised by the emperor for his loyalty and he was promised the subsidies for the two previous years which he had forfeited. His trade and market rights, too, were restored to him. Two things appear from this text: that Shih's son Chi-mei was not among those captured by Čürüke and returned to China, and that Ğaltu (An-t'u) remained dissatisfied with the situation. The Ming government, however, was so pleased with the outcome of this affair that it was decided that the leaders of the "rebels" need not be sent in chains to the capital. Perhaps we may see in this decision another indication that the government had never believed the Mongols to be the real guilty.

Various officials who had a part in arranging the extradition of the Shih Mongols were granted rewards by the government.⁹⁴

There were other compelling reasons for the Ming to be very lenient. The problem of keeping the Mongols in check and preventing a new outbreak of border raids was not only a question of repression by force; or of favoring now this chieftain and then another, or of playing one Mongol nobleman off against his neighbour. It was far more a problem of prestige of the Ming and of giving a good impression. The injustices which the Shih Mongols had had to suffer had been the cause for the departure of the Mongols, and meant a loss of prestige for the Ming in many sections of the Mongol people abroad. During the 15th and 16th centuries "rebels" such as the Shih Mongols had never been treated with too much severity. It was always thought that too much severity would make the Mongols in China suspicious and would stop the flow of new Mongols surrendering to China, and thus in the long run would have an adverse effect on Sino-Mongol relations.

Measures adopted by the Ming in 1591-1592 must also be considered against the background of important events in the west. From 1570 on, Altan-qan's descendants and relatives had kept the peace with only brief periods of limited trouble. But at the time of the departure of the Shih Mongols, the Ming were struggling with

⁹³ *Ibid.* 247.11b 12b; and *KPSTC* 11.28a. The latter work has *Shih-ch'e erh ch'iu* "the two chiefs Shih and Ch'e" but the *Shih-lu* mentions "the rebel chieftain Shih The Younger" alone.

⁹⁴ *Wan-li shih-lu* 248.5a; 7b.

another Mongol "rebel." This man was a certain Po Pai⁹⁵ who had been occupying an important post in the Ming army at Ning-hsia. He had started his revolt early in 1592 and had obtained not little assistance from the Ordos Mongols, who were, outwardly at least, at peace with the Ming. The Ming, of course, hoped that Čürüke, once his privileges restored, would bring his influence to bear upon the noblemen of the Ordos who were his relatives; probably they also hoped that a show of leniency towards the "rebels" of the Hsüan-fu district would dispose Po Pai to surrender on the same terms.

Hsiao Ta-heng, the governor-general of Hsüan-fu and Ta-t'ung, who was extremely well informed on all things concerning the Mongols and for years was the outstanding policy maker in Mongol affairs, for a while got into trouble on account of the return of the Shih Mongols. On January 27, 1593,⁹⁶ the *Shih-lu* mentions an accusation levelled against him. According to this accusation the original plan had been, not to have Čürüke extradite the Shih Mongols with their leaders and people, but to have him arrest and turn over to the Chinese a certain Mongol from the west by the name of Huo-lo-ch'ih 火羅赤 (Qulači) who through his endless depredations of the Kansu borders had long been a thorn in the side of the Ming. According to this accusation also, Hsiao, little interested in the difficulties encountered by his colleagues in the west, took advantage of Čürüke's change of heart to bring peace and tranquillity to the territories under his own jurisdiction, and directed Čürüke to arrest Shih and disregard Qulači. If the charge is true at all, such a change in the original plan was easy enough for Hsiao. Čürüke, indeed, lived north of Ta-t'ung, and all orders going out to that part of southern Mongolia, necessarily had to pass through Hsiao Ta-heng's headquarters.

The basis, however, for this accusation against Hsiao is not very clear. Hsiao defended himself but asked to be relieved of his duties, which the emperor refused to grant.

From this accusation we further learn that Shih The Younger's son Chi-mei, who had escaped arrest by Čürüke, in the meantime had presented himself with some two hundred and seventy horsemen, and that Hsiao had issued orders not to deny them access to China.

⁹⁵ See the *Ming-shih* 20.11b; Cf. note 4.

⁹⁶ *Wan-li shih-lu* 255. 10b.

The next *Shih-lu* passage to mention the Shih Mongols is a memorial by Hsiao Ta-heng from April 18, 1593,⁹⁷ reading as follows: "In treating the barbarians, China comforts them if they are com-
plaisant, but punishes them if they are refractory. The two tribes⁹⁸ Shih and Ch'e, after having been nourished by us for more than forty years,⁹⁹ one morning rebelled and departed; but soon wailingly they begged to surrender (again). Strictly speaking, we should not have allowed them. However, as An-t'u ([T]altu) detained them and united them (with his own people), they began to suffer from poverty and they began thinking¹⁰⁰ of carrying out raids, and on frequent occasions they wrecklessly carried out invasions. Govern-
mental troops first captured¹⁰¹ his son and wife and daughter Hung-hai 紅孩, Pai-yen-chao 白言介,¹⁰² etc. First the king of the caitiffs [Čürüke] apprehended and extradited the official Shih The Younger¹⁰³ and Wo-lieh 我列; thereafter we put both chieftains in prison. That¹⁰⁴ we reprieved their death sentence was because their execution would not have improved the situation on the borders, while by saving them¹⁰⁵ we might attach the barbarians to us. Now Chi-mei, the son of the chieftain (Shih),¹⁰⁶ and Po-lo 哱羅 (Bolod),

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 258.5a. The same text in the *KPSTC* 11.28b29a, slightly abridged and with several variant readings.

⁹⁸ The *Shih-lu* reads *shou* 首; the *KPSTC*, *pu* "tribe," which I have followed.

⁹⁹ In the *KPSTC*: "several tens of years."

¹⁰⁰ *Ssu* 思 supplied from the *KPSTC*.

¹⁰¹ *Hsien-ch'in* 先擒 supplied from the *KPSTC*.

¹⁰² In the *KPSTC*: Pai-yen-chieh 介. This name, probably, corresponds to the Ordos BajanDži. Cf. Ant. Mostaert, *Dict. Ordos*, p. 46a, where it is listed as a feminine name. The *Wan-li wu-kung lu* has several examples of feminine names ending in *chai*, probably transcribing the suffix-Dži. See *Wan-li wu-kung lu*, ch. 7, p. 91: T'ao-sung, which is an incomplete form. (The complete form is in the *Chia-ching shih-lu* 453.4ab; T'ao-sung-chai 桃松寨). ch. 8, p. 179: Yeh-pu-chai, and ch. 13, p. 120: Pai-yen-sai 塞 (probably a copyist's error for *chai*); this Pai-yen-sai ~ Pai-yen-chai might well be the same name as Pai-yen-chao ~ Pai-yen-chieh. *Sai* and *Chai* also appear as end syllables of masculine names, e.g. Tamura, *Manshū hen* 6, p. 408: *Sang-ang-chai*; p. 464: Sang-a-erh-chai; *Mōko hen* 6, p. 436: Pao-erh-sai (in the Nanking ed. of the *Chia-ching shih-lu* 311.3b this last name is spelled Pao-hsien-sai).

¹⁰³ The *Wan-li wu-kung lu*, ch. 8, p. 231, also mentions Shih's extradition and confirms our conviction that the initiative in this matter had come from the Chinese border officials rather than from Čürüke.

¹⁰⁴ The *Shih-lu* has character 何 where the *KPSTC* reads 价.

¹⁰⁵ *Shih-lu*: 存子之; *KPSTC*: 存之.

¹⁰⁶ *Shih-lu*: 曾二吉妹; *KPSTC*: 曾子吉妹. The original text must have been something like 曾史二子吉妹.

and others, have come to surrender with their people, and they even have killed three of An-t'u's men who were lying in ambush on the road (with the intent of stopping them). They have thereby shown their intentions that they want to break with An-t'u. As a result we have received them back¹⁰⁷ and (have allowed them) to settle, and have restored¹⁰⁸ their subsidies and their grazing grounds.¹⁰⁹ Even if we remit the death penalty for the chieftain Shih and others, (we should) hold hostages at the seat of the military district [i.e. Hsüan-fu]. Chi-mei, Bolod, etc., we ought to settle separately,¹¹⁰ and we (should) appoint many chieftains¹¹¹ and not let them be under a unified control so that¹¹² the factors either for unification or dispersal invisibly will be there [but under our control]." The Board of War answered: "The governor-general's words are right. If we let them [i.e. the Mongols] live, they will be grateful and those who have already surrendered will be obedient, while those who as yet have not surrendered will consider doing so.¹¹³ In our relations with the tribes abroad (we may use them to) destroy An-t'u's schemes, but within our own borders (we can) avail ourselves of their ability to spy.¹¹⁴ This plan should be approved." The emperor declared: "To be put into effect as deliberated!"

These words once more confirm that the Ming were more concerned with the favorable impression their decisions would make on the Mongols abroad than with the punishment to be meted out to the so-called "rebels."

This last memorial leaves us with the definite impression that the Shih Mongols were allowed to settle in their former territory, but broken up into smaller units with chieftains independent of each other. This is confirmed by the *Hsüan-hua fu chih*,¹¹⁵ but in the *Ming-shih chi-shih pen-mo*¹¹⁶ we read that after their return they were sent

¹⁰⁷ *Shih-lu*: 收集; *KPSTC*: 收回.

¹⁰⁸ *Shih-lu*: 腹; *KPSTC* 復.

¹⁰⁹ *Shih-lu*: *shou* 收 -*ti*; *KPSTC*: *mu* 牧 -*ti*.

¹¹⁰ *Shih-lu*: 合; *KPSTC*: 另, which I have followed.

¹¹¹ *Shih-lu*: *t'ou-mu*; *KPSTC*: *t'ou-ling* 頭領.

¹¹² *Shih-lu*: 而; *KPSTC*: 則.

¹¹³ The *KPSTC* lacks this sentence.

¹¹⁴ This sentence in the Nanking edition of the *Shih-lu* is hopelessly corrupted. I have followed the *KPSTC*; this work, however, puts the last sentence before the words "The Board of War..." so that it seems to belong to Hsiao Ta-heng's words.

¹¹⁵ The *Hsüan-hua fu chih* 34.37a has "they were forgiven and settled severally in their old places."

¹¹⁶ *Ming-shih chi-shih pen-mo*, ch. 60, p. 25.

to the region of Ti-shui-yeh 滴水崔 "in Lung-men territory." The village of Ti-shui-yeh, however, is located in the neighbourhood of Lung-men-so, not Lung-men, some eighty *li* southeast of Ch'ih-ch'eng.¹¹⁷

It is impossible to make out whether immediately after their return to Chinese suzerainty a part of the Shih Mongols were settled there, or whether the reference to Ti-shui-yeh reflects a later migration. Perhaps a careful search in local histories and gazetteers could make this point clear.

With regard to the hostages to be kept at Hsüan-fu, it should be noted that this is the only reference in the *Ming Shih-lu* to hostages for Mongols settled in China. So far as I know, in no other case or "rebellion" are hostages like those of Hsüan-fu mentioned. What happened frequently was that the "rebels" were sent to a southern province. But even this was far from being a rule, and many Mongols who had given no reason for suspicion were sent to the south.

In a text from 1618¹¹⁸ the "two barbarians Shih and Ch'e" are mentioned again, this time as auxiliary troops. This particular passage is a memorial on army organization and supply. The text says that the households of Mongol auxiliary troops should receive a monthly allowance, and that the soldiers themselves, when on the road, should receive a little more than ordinary troops. Whatever the reason may be for this special consideration for the Mongols, it appears beyond the slightest doubt that by 1618 the Shih and Ch'e Mongols had become reliable soldiers actively supporting the Ming against the rising Manchus.

The Mongols of Hsüan-fu of the Ming have long since become Chinese. It is quite possible, even probable, that none of their descendants has the slightest suspicion that there were Mongols among his ancestors. The history of the Shih and Ch'e Mongols, fragmentary though it be and covering no more than some thirty years, has its interest for us as it constitutes a concrete example of the history and the gradual sinicization of the Mongol settlements in China during the Ming period.

¹¹⁷ *Ming-shih* 40.18a. Many passages in the *Ming-shih-lu* refer to "Ti-shui-yeh of the Northern Circuit." Ting Wen-chiang, *Chung-hua min-kuo hsin ti-t'u*, map 16; *Ch'a-ha-erh-sheng t'ung-chih* 13.18b. This latter work (11.32b) lists another Ti-shui-yeh, southwest of Hsüan-hua, which can hardly be the place meant by the author of the *Ming-shih chi-shih pen-mo*.

¹¹⁸ *Wan-li shih-lu* 571.4a; Tamura, *Manshû hen* 4, p. 550.

ZWEI MONGOLISCHE MANUSKRIPTE AUS OST-TURKESTAN

von

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Die Ötani-Expedition hat aus Ost-Turkestan neben vielen archäologischen Gegenständen verschiedene Manuskripte, hauptsächlich chinesische und türkische, nach Japan gebracht. Unter ihnen befinden sich zwei mongolische Manuskripte. Sie sind in dem bekannten, aber jetzt selten gewordenen Atlas *Sei-eki kôko-zufu* (= Atlas der archäologischen Gegenstände aus Ost-Turkestan) (Tokyo, 1915), 2 Bde., veröffentlicht. Diese mongolischen Manuskripte sind in der Mongolistik wenig bekannt und, soweit der Verfasser dieser Zeilen weiß, wurden sie bis jetzt wissenschaftlich noch nicht bearbeitet. Das eine dieser Manuskripte stammt aus Tuyuq, nicht weit von Turfan. Ein Mitglied der Ötani-Expedition, Herr Yoshikawa, hat es dort im Monat März 1912 bekommen. Ob es aus dem Sand von ihm selber ausgegraben oder den Bewohnern abgekauft wurde, ist nicht klar. Wir finden in seinem Tagebuch, das in dem oben erwähnten Werk enthalten ist, keine Hinweise darauf. Dieses Manuskript ist jetzt in der Bibliothek der Universität Ryukoku, Kyoto, gut erhalten (Nr. 8126).

Dieses Manuskript ist geschrieben auf der Rückseite des Mahā-pāranirvāṇa sūtra, übersetzt von Fa-hsien, das nach der Meinung von Prof. Fujieda in der Mitte der Tang-Dynastie abgeschrieben wurde, was natürlich nicht besagt, daß dieses Manuskript auch in der Mitte der Tang-Dynastie geschrieben worden wäre.

Das Manuskript ist 26.7 cm × 27 cm und besteht aus 17 Zeilen. Es ist klar, daß es eigentlich mehr Zeilen hatte. Der Anfangsteil ist gut erhalten, aber der rechte Teil des Papiers ist abgerissen.

Dieses Manuskript ist dadurch bemerkenswert, daß die ersten drei Zeilen türkisch geschrieben sind. Es wird folgendermassen gelesen:

1 *burqan-lar-niṅ ornanyu-luq¹ orun-ı sukavati²*

¹ *ornanyu-luq* „Wohnort“. Uig. *ornanyu* „Wohnort, Niederlassung“ < uig. *ornan-* „sich niederlassen“. *-luq* ist Suffix nominis loci. Cf. *ayı-lıq* „Speicher“ (*ayı* „Habe, Schatz“), *adyır-lıq* „Gestüt“ (*adyır* „Hengst“), *yimiş-lik* „Obstgarten“ (*yimiş* „Frucht“), *qın-lıq* „Gefängnis“ (*qın* „Qual“). A. von Gabain, *Altürkische Grammatik*², § 54.

² *sukavati* < skr. *sukhāvati* „das Westliche Paradies der Buddhisten“.

- 2 *bodis(a)tv(a)-lar-niŋ oluryu-(l)uq³ orun-ï ol oq⁴ sukavati*
- 3 *bu sadu sadu⁵*
- 4 *endeče degeğši-de narin toȳosun-u toȳabar burqan-*
- 5 *nuyud-un yirtinčü alus-u-n⁶ önggerebesü yeke*
- 6 *qubilyan bilge bilig-tü burqan-nuyud-un*
- 7 *kürgen-deki qamuy dalaï quvray-ud-ta⁷ itegemüi . . .*
- 8 *endeče endeče endeče endeče endeče endeče endeče*
- 9 *endeče endeče endeče endeče endeče endeče endeče*
- 10 *endeče qubilyan qubilyan qubilyan qubilyan*
- 11 *endeče endeče narin toȳosun-u toȳabar qamuy*
- 12 *namu budaï-a namu darmaï-a nama sangguï-a⁸*
- 13 *oom mani bad mi qung⁹*
- 14 *qamuy burqan bodis(a)tv(a)-nar-a mörgüümüi bi eyin*
- 15 *kemen minu sonusuyŋsan nigen čay čay čay čay*
- 16 *čay-tur ilaĵu tegüis nöğčigsen burqan*
- 17 *endeče (endeče ende)če narin toȳ(osun-u toȳabar burqan-nuyud)*

Wie man sieht, ist der Inhalt von Zeile 1 bis 7 folgerichtig. Von Zeile 8 bis 10 findet man das Wort *endeče* "von hier aus" fünfzehnmal und in der Zeile 10 das Wort *qubilyan* "Inkarnation" viermal und von Zeile 15 bis 16 das Wort *čay* "Zeit" fünfmal. Der Inhalt von Zeile 8 bis 17 ist nicht folgerichtig. Es ist wahrscheinlich zur Übung geschrieben. Die mehrmals geschriebenen Wörter (*endeče*, *qubilyan*, *čay*) sind mongolisch.

Übersetzung:

Der Buddhas Wohnort ist das Paradies.

Der Bodhisatvas Sitzort ist ebenso das Paradies.

³ *oluryu-(l)uq* „Sitzort“. Cf. uig. *olur-* „sitzen“. In Bezug auf *-yu* in *olur-yu* cf. *ornan-yu*. Bezüglich *-(l)uq* cf. Fn. 1.

⁴ *oq* „eben“. uig. *oq* „eben“ (S. E. Malov, *Pamjatniki drevnjetjurkskoi pis'mennosti*, Moskau-Leningrad, 1951, S. 405).

⁵ *sadu* „gut!“, uig. *sadu* < skr. *sādhu* „gut!“

⁶ *alus-u-n* „hinübergehend“. mo. *alus-* „hinübergehen“, *-u-* ist Bindevokal, *-n* ist Suffix verbi modalis.

⁷ *quvray-ud-ta* „in den Versammlungen“, uig. *quvray* „Versammlung, Schar, Gemeinde der Mönche“; *-ud* ist mongolisches Pluralsuffix, *-ta* ist Suffix dativo-lokativi im vorklassischen Mongolischen.

⁸ *namu budaï-a namu darmaï-a nama sangguï-a*. skr. *namo buddhāya, namo dharmāya, namaḥ saṃghāya* „Verehrung dem Buddha! Verehrung der Lehre! Verehrung der Mönchsgemeinde!“

⁹ *oom mani bad mi qung* ist eine von Padmani (Aryavalkitecvara bodhisatva) geschaffene mystische Formel. Die schriftmongolische Form *own mani badme huwn* ist dem Tibetischen entlehnt. Der hier gezeigten Form liegt nicht die tibetische Variante, sondern die uigurische zu Grunde.

Dies ist gut, gut!

Wenn man von hier aus nach oben, in die Welt der unzähligen Buddhas hinübergeht, so schützt sie (einen) in allen riesengroßen Versammlungen, die sich in der Welt der großen Inkarnation, der weisen erleuchteten Buddhas befinden.

Von hier aus (fünfzehnmal) Inkarnation (viermal) unzählige (Buddhas)...

Namu Buddhaya, namu Darmaya, nama Sanggaya!

Oom mani pad mi qung!

Vor allen Buddhas, Bodhisatvas neige ich mich. So habe ich gehört. Einer die Zeit (fünfmal) besiegender, vollkommen hinübergegangener Buddha

Von hier aus unzählige Buddhas...

In diesem Manuskripte sind folgende grammatische Formen belegt.
Uigurisch:

Pluralsuffix

-lar (*burqan-lar, bodisatva-lar*)

Genitiv-Suffix

-ning (*burqanlar-ning, bodis(a)tv(a)lar-ning*)

Possessivpronomen der dritten Person, sg.

-i (*orun-i*)

Mongolisch:

Pluralsuffix

-nar (*bodisatva-nar*)

-nuγud (*burqan-nuγud*)

-ud (*quvray-ud*)

Genitiv-Suffix

-u (*toγosun-u*)

-un (*burqan-nuγud-un*)

Dativ-Lokativ-Suffix

-de (*kürgen-de*)

-ta (*quvray-ud-ta*)

-tur (*čay-tur*)

-a (*bodisatva-nar-a*)

Instrumental-Suffix

-bar (*toγa-bar*)

Ablativ-Suffix

-če (*ende-če*)

Verbalsuffix

Suffix nominis perfecti

-γsan ~ gsen (*sonus-u-γsan, nöğči-gsen*)

Suffix converbi imperfecti

-*ju* (*ila-ju*)

Suffix converbi modalis

-*n* (*alus-u-n*)

Suffix converbi conditionalis

-*besü* (*önggere-besü*)

Suffix praesentis

-*mü* (*itege-mü*, *mörge-mü*)

In diesem Manuskripte sind verhältnismäßig viel uigurische Lehnwörter.

yirtinčü "Erde, Welt" (cf. uig. *yir* "Land, Erde")

bilge "weise, Weiser" (cf. uig. *bil-* "wissen")

bilig "Wissen, Weisheit"

qamuγ "alle"

quvray "Versammlung, Schar".

Der Duktus dieses Manuskriptes ist ziemlich altertümlich. Das *q* und das *γ* werden durch diakritischen Punkt nicht unterschieden. Cf. das *q* in *burqan* und *γ* in *toγosun*. Das *n* hat keinen diakritischen Punkt. Das *nūn* und *āleph* haben dieselbe Form. Das *č* und das *ǰ* werden nicht unterschieden. Cf. *endeče* und *ilaǰu*. Das *v* (*sukavati*, *quvray*) kann man nicht von dem *y* (*eyin*, *yeke*) unterscheiden.

Das andere Manuskript stammt aus Turfan. Leider befindet es sich nicht mehr in der Bibliothek der Universität Ryukoku, Kyoto. Es besteht aus 31 Zeilen, deren meiste mehr oder weniger beschädigt sind. Im Gegensatz zum Manuskript aus Tuyuq ist es ein buddhistisches Dokument folgerichtigen Inhaltes.

Die Zeilen sind folgendermassen beschädigt:

Zeile	beschädigte Stelle	Zeile	beschädigte Stelle
1	oben und unten	13	unten
2	oben und unten	17	unten
3	oben	18	mitten und unten
4	oben und unten	19	unten
5	oben	21	unten
6	mitten	22	unten
7	mitten	24	unten
8	unten	25	unten
9	unten	27	unten
11	unten	29	unten
12	unten	31	mitten und unten

Die Zeilen 10, 14, 15, 16, 20, 23, 26, 28 und 30 sind heil. Mit der 31. Zeile endet dieses Manuskript.

Es läßt sich folgenderweise transkribieren.

- 1ayubasu öri širqa¹⁰ ügei.....
- 2(bü)gesü tölen yadabasu üküfü.....
- 3(öri) širqa-yi tölejü qariyuluyu
- 4ügei bolju qariyulun ese čidabasu qariju atuya(i)
- 5ruju qariyulju töleyü. Ananda a či eyin mede. ker ber ed-i
- 6 kere..... su küčün-iyen ĵaruqu bügesü ba. tedüi činegeber büged ögčü
- 7 nöğči(yen) egün-ü dотора tedeger-ün beye amin-i alaĵu miqan-i
- 8 idegsen bügesü tere metü narin tojosun-u toĵobar¹¹ galab-ud.....
- 9 alalduqi ideldüküi anu. kürdün-i orčiyulqi-dur adali
- 10 orčilduĵu amuqu ülü boluyu. šimnus dayin-i
- 11 yirtinĵü-dür törüküi-eče anggida töridküi amuy(ulang)
- 12 ta bürün edüged-tür eyin mededkün. tedeger uulis... ta...
- 13 öri širqa-ban dayusbasu beye-ben yegüdkeĵü kümün-ü ĵayayan-dur
törübesü qasang¹² ül(ü)...
- 14 (ami)tan-dur törüyi. amitan boluyu: · · tedeger nigül qilinč-un¹³ ači üre-yi
namančilan öčimüi.
- 15 tedeger mayui iru belge-yi üjegülügčid-ün öri širqa-yi (qariyulubasu)
- 16 basa beye-ben yegüdkeĵü bügesü kümün-ü ĵayayan-dur törübesü
- 17 uĵayur-dur törüyi · · · · tedeger nigül qilinč-un üre-yi namančilan (öčimüi)
- 18 tedeger ünegen terigüten amitan (?) küi öri š(irqa)
- 19 beye-ben yegüdkeĵü kümün-ü ĵayayan-dur törübesü to
- 20 boluyu. tedeger nigül qilinč-un ači üre-yi namančilan öčimüi.
- 21 tedeger qorotu amitan tamu-dur unaĵu ĵobayad öri širqa-ban to
- 22 kümün-ü ĵayayan-dur törübesü qatayu doĵš(in)
- 23 amitan boluyu: · · tedeger nigül qilinč-un ači üre-yi namančilan öčimüi: · ·
- 24 tedeger kebeli kegeli-deki¹⁴ qoroqai terigüten
- 25 [basa] beye-ben yegüdkeĵü kümün-ü ĵayayan (-dur törübesü)

¹⁰ öri širqa bedeutet buchstäblich „Schuld Wunde“. Dieses Paarwort bedeutet wohl „Schuld“. Cf. *khalkha-mo. ör šir* „Schuld“.

¹¹ toĵobar ist durch den labialisierenden Einfluß des o der ersten Silbe aus *toyabar* entstanden. Im ersten Manuskripte erscheint dieses Wort in der Form *toyabar*.

¹² qasang ist ein unbekanntes Wort. Es kann Fehlschreibung von *γasalang* „Trauer, Leid“ sein.

¹³ qilinč ist ein alttürkisches Wort, das „Tat“ bedeutet (cf. atü. *qıl-* „tun“). Die schrift-mongolische Form ist *kilinče* „Sünde“. Es ist merkwürdig, daß man hier die türkische Form findet. Diese Wortform läßt uns vermuten, daß dieses Manuskript ziemlich alt sein kann.

¹⁴ Das Wort *kebeli* ist absichtlich getilgt und dafür *kegeli* geschrieben, was wohl zeigt, daß in der Konkurrenz zweier Wortformen die letztere stärker war.

- 26 *üçüken yutumsiy uşayurtan-dur törüyü.*
 27 *tedeger idegçi terigüten amitan öri şırqa*
 28 *kümün-ü şayayan-dur törübesü*
 29 *tedeger onuydaquı jaruydaquı terigüten amitan*
 30 *kümün-ü şayayan-dur törübesü*
 31 *uşayurtan-dur törüyü. tedeger nigül üre-yi namančila (nöcimüi · · ·)*

Übersetzung:

- 1 wenn man sich fürchtet, wird man nicht schuldig.
 2 wenn man nicht bezahlen kann, stirbt man und
 3 man bezahlt die Schuld und vergilt sie.
 4 wenn man . . . los werdend, (die Schuld) nicht vergelten kann,
 soll man zurückkehren.
 5 man vergilt (die Schuld) und bezahlt sie. Oh Ananda, wisse es!
 Wenn die Leute die Habe
 6 gebrauchen (?), wenn die Leute Gewalt gebrauchen und Kraft ausüben
 und
 7 (Kraft) durchgehen lassend mitten in dieser Welt ihr Leben vernichten
 und ihr Fleisch
 8 essen, werden sie sandmäßig unzählige Perioden lang
 9 sich vernichten und sich aufessen. Wie man das Rad dreht,
 10 drehen die Leute einander und ruhen nicht. Den Teufel und den
 Feind
 11 die Seligkeit, anders geboren zu werden, als in dieser Welt geboren zu
 werden
 12 Ihr alle wisset nun dies. Die Leute . . . das Essen
 13 Wenn man die Schuld beendet und nachdem man das Leid beendet
 das Menschenschicksal bekommt, (bekommt man) das Leid nicht.
 14 man wird als Lebewesen geboren. Es entsteht das Lebewesen. Die
 Leute beichten die Vergeltung und Frucht der Sünde und der Tat
 15 Wenn die Leute die Schuld der Zeiger des schlechten Merkmals
 und Zeichens vergelten
 16 und den eigenen Körper beendigen und das Menschenschicksal be-
 kommen,
 17 werden sie als Edelleute geboren. Sie beichten die Frucht der Sünde
 und Tat.
 18 Jene Lebewesen mit dem Fuchs an der Spitze . . . die Schuld
 19 Wenn man den Körper beendet und das Menschenschicksal be-
 kommt

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1

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a letter or document. The text is written on a piece of paper that is slightly torn and discolored. The script is dense and fills most of the page.

Handwritten text at the bottom of the page, possibly a signature or a closing. It is written in the same cursive script as the main body of the text.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a historical document or manuscript. The text is written on a piece of paper that is heavily damaged, with significant portions missing and the remaining text obscured by large, irregular stains and tears. The script is dense and difficult to decipher due to the damage and the style of the handwriting. The text appears to be organized into paragraphs, with some lines starting with capital letters or initials. The overall appearance is that of an old, well-used document that has suffered from significant wear and tear over time.

- 20 wird. Die Leute beichten die Vergeltung und Frucht der Sünde und Tat.
- 21 Jene giftigen Lebewesen fallen in die Hölle und sich quälend . . . ihre Schuld
- 22 Wenn man das Menschenschicksal bekommt, . . . harten grausamen
- 23 wird Lebewesen. Die Leute beichten die Vergeltung und Frucht der Sünde und Tat.
- 24 Jene Lebewesen mit dem sich im Bauch befindlichen Wurm an der Spitze
- 25 und wenn man den eigenen Körper beendet und das Menschenschicksal bekommt
- 26 der Kleine, der Schlechte wird als Edelmann geboren.
- 27 Jene Lebewesen mit dem Esser an der Spitze . . . die Schuld
- 28 wenn man das Menschenschicksal bekommt
- 29 Jene Lebewesen mit dem zu Treffenden und zu Benutzenden an der Spitze . . .
- 30 wenn man das Menschenschicksal bekommt,
- 31 wird man als Edelmann geboren. Die Leute beichten die Frucht der Sünde.

In diesem Manuskripte sind folgende grammatische Formen belegt (die Zahlen zeigen die Zeile):

Pluralsuffix

-d (*üjegülgči-d* 15)

-ud (*galab-ud* 8)

Genitiv-Suffix

-u (*egün-ü* 7, *toyosun-u* 8)

-un (*tedeger-ün* 7, *qilinč-un* 14, *üjegülügčid-ün* 15)

Dativ-Lokativ-Suffix

-de (*kegeli-de-ki* 24)

-dur ~ -tur (*yirtinčü-dür* 11, *edüged-tür* 12, *jayayan-dur* 13, *uḡayur-dur* 17, *uḡayur-tan-dur* 26)

Akkusativ-Suffix

-i (*ed-i* 5, *amin-i* 7, *miqan-i* 7, *uuli* 12)

-yi (*öri sirqa-yi* 3, *üre-yi* 14, *belge-yi* 15)

-iyen (*küčün-iyen* 6)

-ban ~ ben (*öri sirqa-ban* 13, *beye-ben* 16)

Ablativ-Suffix

-eče (*törükü-eče* 11)

Instrumental-Suffix

-bar ~ -ber (*toyo-bar* 8, *činege-ber* 6)

Verbalformen

Imperativ der zweiten Person *mede* "wisse!" (5)

Imperativ der zweiten Person pluralis -*dkün* (*mede-dkün* 12)

Imperativ der dritten Person -*tuyaŋ* (*a-tuyaŋ* 4)

Indikativ praesentis -*yu* (*qariyul-u-yu* 3, *töle-yü* 5, *bol-u-yu* 10, 14, *törü-yü* 17)

-*müŋ* (*öči-müŋ* 14)

Nomen futuri -*qu* (*jaruqu* 6)

-*quŋ* (*orčiyul-quŋ* 9, *alaldu-quŋ* 9, *onuyda-quŋ* 29, *jaruyda-quŋ* 29)

-*küŋ* (*ideldü-küŋ* 9, *törü-küŋ* 11, *törid-küŋ* 11)

Nomen perfecti -*gsen* (*ide-gsen* 8)

Converbum modale -*n* (*töle-n* 2, *qariyul-u-n* 4, *namančila-n* 14)

Converbum imperfecti -*ju* ~ -*ču* (*ükü-ju* 2, *bol-ju* 4, *ög-ču* 6)

Converbum conditionale -*basu* ~ -*besü* (*ayu-basu* 1, *yada-basu* 2, *čida-basu* 4, *dayus-basu* 13, *törü-besü* 13)

Converbum perfecti -*ged* (*bü-ged* 6)

MÉLANGES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES

LES INSCRIPTIONS INCONNUES SUR PIERRE ET LES PLAQUES D'OR ORNAMENTÉES DU HARNAIS DE TONYOUCOUC

par

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Les immenses steppes et les montagnes de la Mongolie du Nord sont pleines de monuments du passé de ce pays si vaste et si important pour l'histoire de l'Asie Haute. On peut dire que le nombre des tertres anciens dans ce pays est supérieur à celui des habitants actuels. On peut voir aussi les traces nombreuses des grandes invasions, et, à mesure que son voyage de l'Est à l'Ouest avance, le voyageur dans la Mongolie du Nord voit un premier grand tumulus perdu dans l'immensité de la steppe, un deuxième, un troisième, puis un groupe de ces monuments si étranges et énigmatiques et enfin des vallées verdoyantes et silencieuses, pleines de nécropoles.

Il y a quelques années qu'on trouva par exemple une grande nécropole des Huns avec trois cent tombeaux majestueux de leurs chefs des clans dans un vallon à *Aru Qangyai ayimay*. Même les excavations de jeunes archéologues débutants ont montré le grand intérêt de ce cimetière Hun pour la science.

Et c'est mon devoir de savant à mentionner que feu M. le Prof. Dr Žamcarano, le fondateur et le premier secrétaire du Comité des Sciences à Oulanbator, fut le premier savant mongol, qui commença de recueillir systématiquement des informations archéologiques. Les éleveurs de bétail, les chasseurs, les chefs de caravane, les musiciens ambulants, les moines errants, les gens de toute profession aidèrent volontairement ce savant dans son travail pour l'avenir de la science. Suivant cette tradition le Comité des Sciences reçoit constamment toutes sortes de renseignements pour l'étude du pays et nous pouvons dire aujourd'hui, à base de ces informations et des données des recherches archéologiques, qu'en Mongolie on avait jadis bien des forteresses, des villes et des sièges des artisans médiévaux – la steppe nomade avait aussi des centres sédentaires de commerce, d'artisanat et d'agriculture.

Malgré son niveau scientifique très médiocre, les excavations faites par les archéologues du Comité des Sciences donnèrent beaucoup de

matériaux inconnus aux savants et, en même temps, montrèrent d'une manière convaincante que l'excavation primitive des ruines et des tertres est plus facile que la description scientifique de trouvailles.

La science est internationale et ici je me hasarde à proposer aux savants orientalistes un petit mélange archéologique.

i. L'INSCRIPTION EN ÉCRITURE OUÏGOURS SUR LA STÈLE DE DOLÓDAE

Plusieurs explorateurs russes commençant du xixe siècle visitèrent Ulāṅṅom (russe Oulankom), la vieille résidence des khans des Dörbets ou des Kalmouks de la Mongolie Occidentale, mais aucun d'entre eux ne s'aperçut qu'à quelques kilomètres d'Ulāṅṅom il y avait deux tertres jumeaux, avec des stèles, dont l'une eut une inscription en écriture des Turcs de l'Orkhon et l'autre en caractères ouïgours.

Ces tertres de pierres sont connus parmi la population locale sous le nom de tertres de Dolōdai – *Dolōdaen xirgis* – et on raconte bien des légendes et des histoires concernant ce Dolōdai (mo. Doluṣadai).

Les stèles de Dolōdai récemment se trouvent à Ulāṅṅom, devant la Maison des études du pays. Je ne donne ici que la photocopie de l'inscription en caractères ouïgours, parce que je ne dispose pas de la copie du texte en écriture orkhonienne.

On peut lire au commencement de l'inscription ouïgoure: *er atīm Duyas tekin* . . . (Planche I) et voir qu'elle était ciselée par une main inexercée à l'art d'écrire.

C'est le premier monument de l'écriture ouïgoure trouvé en Mongolie. Il nous montre que, dans ce pays, l'usage de cette écriture était contemporain à l'usage de celle des Turcs de l'Orkhon. Il confirme aussi mes données, selon lesquelles l'usage de l'écriture ouïgoure fut connu aux Mongols bien avant l'époque de Gengis Khan, au temps de son ancêtre Budunčar.

ii. PICTOGRAPHIE CHAMANISTE SUR LES ROCHES

Dans la Mongolie du Nord on voit dans la partie centrale du pays, et surtout dans l'Ouest, bien des dessins d'animaux et d'hommes sur pierres. On peut les trouver sur les rochers et dans les caves préhistoriques.

On fit ces dessins de deux manières diverses: on dessina les images sur le rocher ou sur les murs de la cave en ocre rouge, ou bien on racla les dessins sur la pierre.

Dans la cave à Mangqan sumun de la province Qobdu ayimay à

l'Extrême Ouest on peut voir bien des dessins d'animaux qui maintenant n'existent plus dans cette partie du pays. Ces images nous montrent, que le peintre primitif poursuivait un but magique: le succès à la chasse pour les gens de son clan, la profusion des animaux sauvages, dont on représenta les images sur les rochers des endroits saints pour réjouir les dieux et pour attirer les âmes des animaux.

Autour du lac Köbsügöl < turc Köksuköl – le Lac d'Eau Bleue – il y a aussi bien des dessins et des inscriptions en écriture des Turcs de l'Orchon inconnues aux savants du monde. Ici, je reproduis une photographie aimablement envoyée par M. Şaydur. Elle représente les animaux sauvages du bois et des montagnes devant un chaudron magique (Planche II).

Il est intéressant que dans la terminologie chamaniste mongole on nomma *süg* de pareils dessins sur pierre et sur le tambour du chaman. *Amitan-u süg* mot-à-mot signifie en folklore mongol "les image-âmes d'êtres". En rapport avec cela on peut mentionner, que dans les mots *tinar* > *činar*, *sinji činar*, *sür sülde*, *sünesü sülde*, *süg sünesü* nous avons probablement une racine commune *tin* > *čín*, *sin*, *sün*, *sül*, *sür*, *süg* avec le sens âme, qualité, capacité, génie, nature, capacité de l'âme d'inspirer le sentiment de la peur pieuse.¹

iii. LA STÈLE D'EMBLÈMES DE CLANS

Sur la rivière Khanui (mo. *Qanui*) il y a une pierre couverte d'emblèmes de clans et de caractères isolées d'écriture turque d'Orkhon (Planche III).

Fut-ce un monument érigé par les représentants de clans turcs pour exprimer les sentiments de condoléance à l'occasion des funérailles d'un vieux guerrier et homme d'État turc ou pour marquer la place d'une grande réunion solennelle des clans?

Plusieurs emblèmes de cette stèle sont en usage parmi les Mongols contemporains comme les signes de propriété (*tamaya*).

iv. L'INSCRIPTION EN ÉCRITURE HIÉROGLYPHIQUE INCONNUE

Dans le territoire du Möner sumun, Kentei ayımaç, sur la roche Bičigtü qanan en montagne Salbar ayula, il y a une inscription hiéroglyphique inconnue. Elle contient quatre lignes verticales du texte, dont la dernière est la date: jour du cinquième mois de la dixième année du règne de . . .

Les caractères "jour", "cinquième", "mois" et "dixième" sont simi-

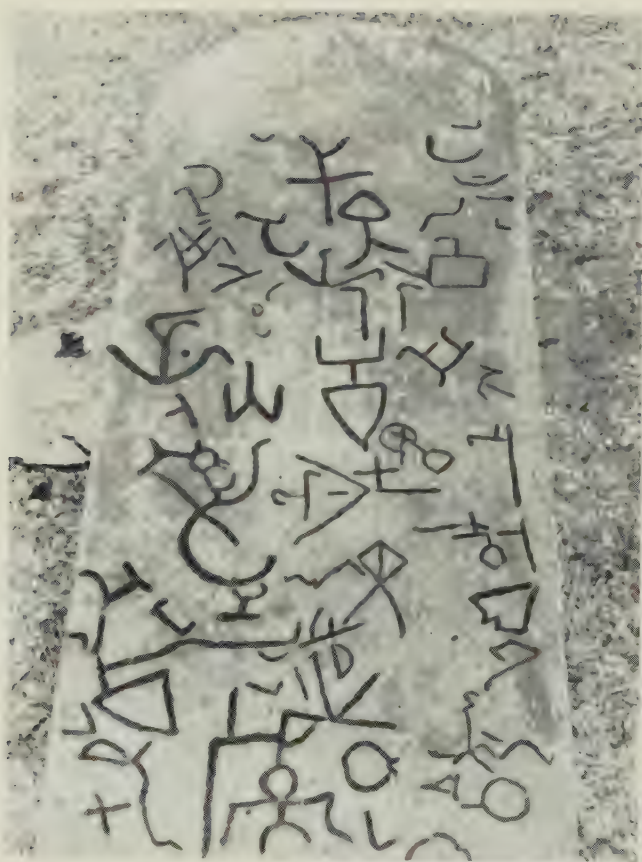
¹ Dans les dialectes oïrates de la Mongolie Occidentale nous avons souvent les voyelles antérieures au lieu de postérieures: mo. *činar*, dörbet *tšiner*; mo. *kitad*, dörbet *kited*; mo. *sigidam*, dörbet *šidem* etc.

[illegible]

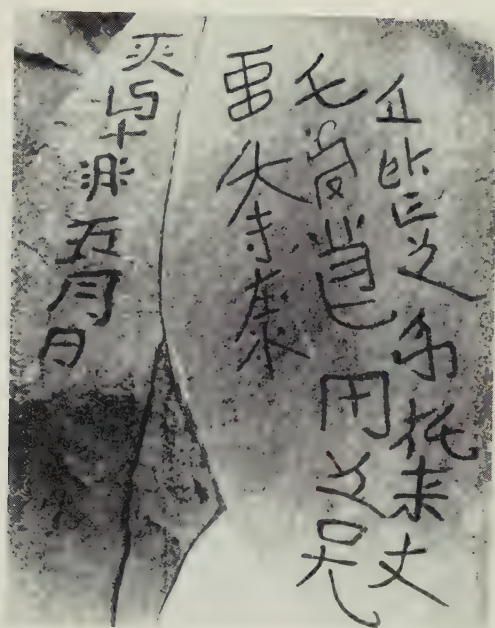
I. L'inscription ouigoure sur la stèle funéraire de Dolōdai, Ulānyūm.



II. Les dessins magiques sur le rocher dans le vallon Qabçayal-tu à Köbstigül ayımaç,
Sin-e Ider sumun, ğurbadıar baç. Photographié par Şaydur.



III. La stèle d'emblèmes des clans turcs à Qanui.



IV. L'inscription hiéroglyphique inconnue sur la roche
Bičigtü qanan à Kentei ayimaγ.

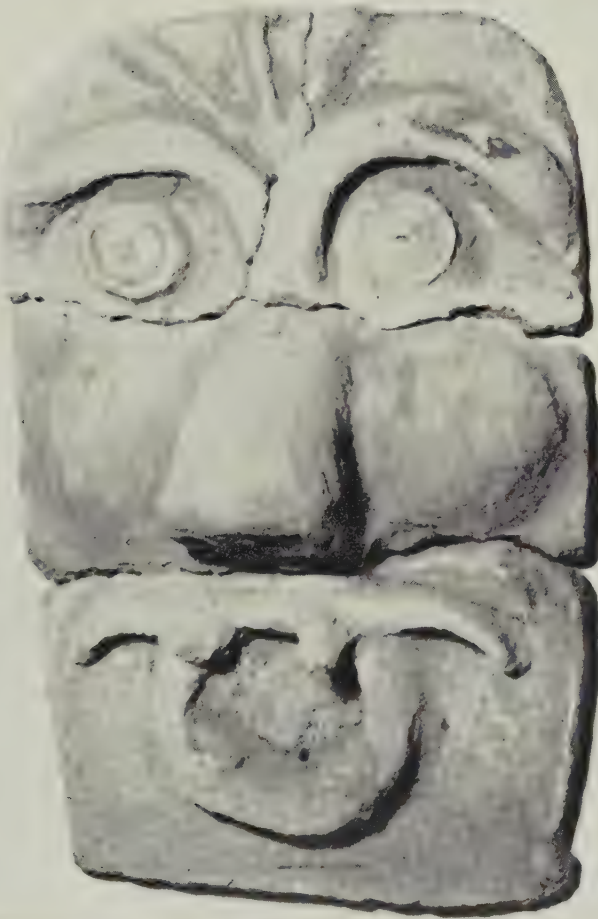


V.



VI.

Les plaques d'or ornementées du harnais de Tonyoucou le Sage, Nalayiqu à l'Est d'Oulanbator.



VII. Figure en terre cuite bleuâtre (image du dieu gardien chamaniste des anciens Turcs)? trouvée dans le trou d'une marmotte près de la stèle du Tonyoucuc le Sage à Nalayiqu.

res aux caractères chinois. L'hiéroglyphe signifiant "an" est similaire au même caractère de l'écriture jurčen. Les deux caractères au commencement de la dernière ligne donnent la devise du règne d'un empereur jurčen ou kitan (Planche IV).

Sur la roche Bičigtu qanan au côté droit de cette inscription il y a quelques emblèmes vieux-turcs et trois caractères en écriture hiéroglyphique inconnue.

M. Batuvčir, le mandghouriste excellent et membre du Comité des Sciences, supposa que l'inscription eut été écrite en caractères kitan. Il est intéressant de mentionner qu'à l'Est, non très loin de cet endroit, il y a les ruines de deux villes des Kitans.

v. LES PLAQUES D'OR ORNAMENTÉES DU HARNAIS DE TONYOUCOUC

L'inscription de la stèle du Tonyoucouc le Sage est bien connue aux turcologues du monde entier. Mais ni l'académicien Radlov, ni l'académicien Vladimircov ne trouvèrent, lors de leurs excavations, une trace du sépulcre du Tonyoucouc.² Et contre toute attente, l'été de l'année passée (1957) une marmotte trouva ce que ne purent pas trouver les académiciens: elle jeta de son trou près de la stèle dix-huit plaques d'or ornementées du harnais de Tonyoucouc! On trouva aussi une figure d'homme en terre cuite ressemblante au masque Abayaldai du dieu chamaniste des Mongols contemporains (Planches V-VII).

Cette figure en terre cuite bleuâtre a les sourcils arqués, les moustaches blanchâtres et un grand nez charnu. De sa bouche saillaient deux dents canines. Les deux autres sont rompues.

Les excavations faites par les archéologues du Comité des Sciences ne donnèrent rien. On ne trouva sous la couche qu'un terrain pavé de briques bleuâtres carrées.

Les archéologues n'avaient pas de connaissances suffisantes dans le domaine de l'histoire de leur pays et spécialement dans ceux des rites funéraires et des croyances chamanistes des anciens Turcs et des Mongols. On ne soupçonna que le sépulcre puisse être pavé de briques, que le défunt puisse se reposer dans une niche à côté de l'entrée du sépulcre.

Mais les plaques d'or ornementées trouvées par l'archéologue marmotte promettent d'ouvrir les trésors du tombeau princier du Tonyoucouc le Sage, à un archéologue plus cultivé et plus sage.

² Mongolie du Nord. *Compte rendu préliminaire des recherches exécutées en 1925 par les expéditions linguistiques et archéologiques*, par B. Vladimircov (Leningrad, 1927), pp. 41-42.

DATING THE TIBETAN GEOGRAPHY
'DZAM GLING RGYAS BSHAD
THROUGH ITS DESCRIPTION OF THE WESTERN
HEMISPHERE

by

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This paper deals with the geographical description of the western hemisphere as it appears in the well-known Tibetan geographical work entitled '*Dzam Gling chen po'i rgyas bshad snod bcud kun gsal me long zhes bya ba*', referred to in short as the '*Dzam gling rgyas bshad*'.¹ This work, which gives a description of the world, was written in the nineteenth century by the Bla-ma Btsan-po, who was also known as Smin grol No-mon-han, of the Dga-ldan-dam-chos-gling monastery in A-mdo.

The most important contribution of this work to Asiatic studies is the section devoted to the geography of Tibet, of which translations have been published: one in English in 1887 by Sarat Chandra Das² and one in Russian in 1895 by V. Vasil'ev.³ The Tibetan section has recently been completely re-translated and will be published together with the text in transcription and comprehensive annotation.⁴

In regard to Bla-ma Btsan-po's short description of the geography of the western hemisphere, it is quite interesting in itself; but that interest was not the main reason for undertaking its translation. The primary purpose was to find out if the historical information contained in this section would confirm, or contradict, the dating of the original Tibetan manuscript.

¹ The manuscript copy of the '*Dzam gling rgyas bshad*' dealt with in this paper belongs to the Tibetan collection of the University of Washington in Seattle. It is written in the *dbu-med* form of Tibetan writing and consists of 146 folios. This copy bears orthographic corrections made in red ink by some unknown person at some unknown time. The section devoted to the geographical description of the western hemisphere begins on folio 142-a: line 7, and ends on folio 144-a: line 6.

² Das, "A Brief Account of Tibet from 'Dsam Ling Gyeshe', a well-known Geographical Work of Lama Tsanpo Noman-Khan of Amdo", Part VII, pp. 117-130 of *Narrative of a journey round Lake Yamdo (Palti)* (Calcutta, 1887).

³ Vasil'ev, *Geografiya Tibeta* (St. Petersburg, 1895).

⁴ Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam gling rgyas bshad*, copyrighted 1958.

The colophon of the 'Dzam gling rgyas bshad (folio 146-b) states clearly that the work was composed in the Iron-Dragon year of the fourteenth cycle, i.e., in 1820 A.D.⁵

However, Vasil'ev states, in his introduction to *Geografiya Tibeta*, that Bla-ma Btsan-po relied upon geographical information obtained from the Russians, and that he "especially made reference to Oship, i.e. . . . Osip Mikhailovich Kovalevsky, who arrived in Peking in 1830". Vasil'ev's statement implies that the 'Dzam gling rgyas bshad was written after Kovalevsky's arrival in Peking; ten years later than the date given in the colophon for its composition.⁶

Unfortunately, no biographical data on Bla-ma Btsan-po has been found in Tibetan sources. Little is known of him, except that Vasil'ev also stated in his introduction that the Lama was the Assistant of the Consistorial Administration of the Lamas and Their Monasteries in Peking in the eighteen-twenties and -thirties, and that the Lama died in 1839.

Vasil'ev himself was in Peking sometime in the 19th century, and the biographical data he gives on the Lama was undoubtedly obtained there, perhaps even from acquaintances of the Lama. Consequently, his statements as to the composition of the work can not be taken lightly. As will be seen from the translation of the western hemisphere section, the Lama did avail himself of Russian sources (cf. e.g., notes 15, 33, and 37); but does Vasil'ev's statement that the Lama made "reference to Oship", whom Vasil'ev identifies as Osip Mikhailovich Kovalevsky, prove beyond doubt that the Lama did not write the 'Dzam gling rgyas bshad until he had personal conferences with Kovalevsky, following the latter's arrival in Peking in 1830? Or, is there a possibility that the Lama made use of some geographical work written by Kovalevsky prior to 1820?

On the other hand, Vasil'ev did not mention the colophon of this work nor the fact that a specific date for its composition was given there. This is an omission too important to be dismissed as an oversight. Vasil'ev stated he only copied that portion of the manuscript which deals with Tibet and the contiguous borderlands of India. Is it possible that he did

⁵ / smin grol no mon han du 'bod pas rab byung bcu bzhi pa'i lcags 'brug lor sbyar ba'o / (folio 146-b: lines 4 and 5).

⁶ This interpretation of Vasil'ev's implication is verified in an unpublished English translation made by R. A. Stein of Vasil'ev's Russian translation of the section on Mdo-Khams. Stein noted: "(the preface states that the Mints'ul-khutukhtu lived about 1820-30 in Peking, where he learned the geography of the world from the known scholar Osip Mikhailovich Kovalevski who arrived in Peking about 1830)" (I wish to thank Dr. Joseph F. Rock for making a photostatic copy of Dr. Stein's translation available to me).

not avail himself of the colophon, and was therefore unaware that the composition date was given there? If so, then he might have *assumed* the work was written *after* Kovalevsky's arrival in Peking in 1830.

In view of the contradiction concerning the dating of this work, a translation of the western hemisphere section was undertaken in order to see if any information appeared there, which would substantiate one dating or the other. As will be seen from the translation and footnotes,⁷ not one single fact mentioned reflects a historical situation that did not exist prior to 1820 A.D., nor is there any reference whatsoever to a condition that existed *only* after 1820 A.D.

After completing the translation and footnotes for the section devoted to the geography of the western hemisphere, a historical fact was found, which (*if* my interpretation is correct) proves the colophon dating of 1820 A.D. to be correct. In the course of reading the section regarding the major islands of the Mediterranean Sea, the following passage appeared: / *yang ku ru shi ka'i gling* . . . / *deng sang lo nyi shu tsam gyi sngon du gling der dmag dpon nā pa li zer ba zhig byung te* / *yau ru pa phal cher bcom pas ro si shi ya'i rgyal po a lag sän tir zer bas bzung nas khrims mon*⁸ *du bcug zer ba thos* / (folio 128-b: lines 3-6).

My translation of this passage is as follows:

'Furthermore, the island of Ku-ru-shi-ka (i.e., Corsica) . . . I have heard it said that a general (*dmag-dpon*)⁹ named Nā-pa-li (i.e., Napoleon) came forth on that island about 20 years ago, and because he conquered most of Yau-ru-pa (i.e., Europe), he was recently captured by the King of Ro-si-shi-ya (i.e., Russia) named A lag-sän-tir (i.e., Alexander) and sent to prison.'

⁷ Since the primary purpose in translating the western hemisphere section was to obtain data relating to the dating of the manuscript, the footnotes are concerned chiefly with the historical status of the major countries mentioned, and not with the identification of *every* proper name appearing in the text. Those proper names which could be identified through a reasonable amount of investigation are footnoted; whereas, those which still remain unidentified are followed by a question mark. To have devoted the time necessary to attempt total identification of proper names would have been beyond the purpose of this short paper.

As for those footnotes which mention no source reference, the historical data given in them are in the domain of common availability and no specific reference is needed since they can be found in any standard encyclopedia.

⁸ *khrims mon* (*mon* = *mun*, cf. Jäschke, *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (London, 1949), p. 420); *khrims-mun* is defined in Dge-bshes Chos-grags' *Tibetan-Tibetan Dictionary* (Lhasa), Kha, p. 32, as: *khrims-gcod-sa*, i.e., a place of legal condemnation, court, prison, etc.

⁹ It is interesting to note that Napoleon is called a general (*dmag-dpon*), rather than Emperor or King (Tibetan: *rgyal-po*). Perhaps this is because, at the time of his *coming forth*, Napoleon was not yet Emperor, a title he took in 1804.

It is a matter of historical record that Napoleon was born on August 15, 1769, in Ajaccio, Corsica, and that he was educated in the military schools of Brienne in France from 1779 to 1784. It is to be noted that it does not state he was *born* in Corsica 20 years ago, but that he *came forth*, or *arose* (Tibetan: *byung te*).¹⁰ Had it said *born*, it would have dated the manuscript in 1788 A.D.; but such a date is impossible, since Napoleon did not suffer defeat at the hands of the Russians under Czar Alexander I until 1814.

For the purpose of establishing a date, the most important part of the passage is *deng-sang* ("nowadays, in the present days, recently"). If *deng-sang* were missing, the passage could be interpreted as meaning that 20 years had passed since Napoleon had been captured and sent to prison, which would date the manuscript in 1833 A.D. But, *deng-sang* does occur. It is an adverb of time governing the principal verb of the passage, *bcug* ("to send, compel, to exile"); whereas, *sngon-du* ("formerly, in the past, ago") governs the verb *byung te* ("came forth, arose"). *Deng-sang* does not refer to the phrase *zer ba thos* ("I have heard it said . . ."). This phrase occurs frequently in the 'Dzam gling rgyas bshad meaning nothing more than that the Lama *heard* certain information, rather than read it.¹¹ Therefore, the presence of *deng-sang* in this passage means that Napoleon's capture and exile were recent events reported orally to the Lama, perhaps by one of his Russian informants.

As for the statement that Napoleon arose on Corsica "about 20 years ago"; if that time is subtracted from the date given in the colophon, it places his "coming forth" around 1800. Napoleon was appointed the first consul of the French government in December of 1799, and then in 1802, he was appointed "First Consul for life". Thus, Napoleon had achieved his initial position of power circa 1800 A.D., a status more

¹⁰ This usage is not uncommon. Cf. 'byung ba, "to rise, as kings", Jäschke, *op. cit.*, p. 397. Cf. also: . . . 'di tsho la sngon dus hor thu pa rgyal po sogs . . . rgyal po yang mang tsam byung ba'i . . . ('Dzam gling rgyas bshad, folio 80-b), i.e., "the history of the many kings, such as the King of the Thu-pa Hor, who arose among those people in former times . . .".

¹¹ Compare two examples of the usage of *zer ba thos* taken from the 'Dzam gling rgyas bshad. Notice the usage of *deng-sang* in the first example, and the lack of it in the second.

deng sang bdag pos dben stabs gtsug lag khang sogs la phyugs ra byed gyin yod zer ba thos/ (folio 72-b) "I have heard it said that nowadays cattle are being penned up in the empty temple and other buildings by their owners."

der de nyid kyi sku rgyab kyi rjes brag ngos la gsal po babs pa yod zer ba thos/ (folio 77-a) "I have heard it said that prints of that very one's back appear clearly on the sides of rocks at that place".

worthy of remembering perhaps, than that when he came to the Brienne Military School for Corsica as a boy of eleven.

In view of the grammatical and historical information available, I interpolate the passage in the following manner.

"Furthermore, the island of Corsica . . . I have heard it said that a general named Napoleon arose on that island about 20 years ago (*circa* 1800), and because he conquered most of Europe (by 1807), he was recently captured by (the armies of) Alexander I, Czar of Russia (when they occupied Paris in 1814), and sent into exile (on the island of Elba)". (All dates in brackets are mine.)

This is the first passage encountered in the '*Dzam gling rgyas bshad*' which mentions a specific number of years having elapsed in relation to a given event, and it offers proof that the manuscript was written in 1820 A.D. as stated in the colophon, and not sometime in the 1830's as implied by the statements of Vasil'ev.

THE TIBETAN TEXT IN TRANSCRIPTION¹²

(folio 142-a: line 7) i si lan ti yul nas nub byang gi phyogs su (142-b) rgya mtsho chen po grus brgal te song ba na / she wi rni ya a mi ri ka ste byang gling byang ma zer ba'i gling chen po dpag tshad sum stong bzhi brgya'i rgya khyon can yod / gling de'i byang gi char su bi ra yār zer ba'i sde dang / mig cing ka na dang / ku ru na / si ri kra ta dang / sa ra sa sa sogs sde chen po 'ga re yod / yul de dag gi (*error*: gis)¹³ mi rnams gzugs che zhing sha mdog ser skya la / gdong dbyibs sog po 'dra ba stag gzig (*error*: zgigs) sogs gcan gzan ci rigs pa'i lpags pa'i thul ba can / chos lugs dang tshul lugs sogs gang yang med pa / blun po gtum la rgod pa gnag lug sogs phyugs kyis 'tsho ba dag yin / gong bshad yul de dag las / si ri kra ta em ki rai si'i mnga 'og tu gtogs cing yul gzhan ma rnams so so'i yul mi rnams kyis 'dzin gyin yod / gling de'i lho'i char kar lin zer ba'i yul chen po dang / lu tsi ya na dang / mig si ka dang / phe lo ri tha dang / ka li phir ni ya dang / yo kha dan sogs yul mang po yod pa de dag gi mi rnams

¹² The transcription of Tibetan used in this paper is according to the following system:

ka	kha	ga	nga
ca	cha	ja	nya
ta	tha	da	na
pa	pha	ba	ma
tsha	tsha	dza	a
wa	zha	za	a
ya	ra	la	
sha	sa	ha	a

¹³ Whenever the original text was obviously incorrect, it was emended and the original, incorrect form entered after the word *error*: .

sha mdog ser po can / gcer bu bya sgro dang shing lo sogs kyi stod g-yog dang / smad g-yogs can / chos lugs dang yi ge sogs med pas blun (*origo*: blon)¹⁴ po 'ba zhig yin yang ngang rgyud cung zad 'jam / yul de thams cad du ri mthon po dang (*origo*: mthon dnag) chu klung chen po mang ba la char med cing thog dang ser ba sogs kyi 'jigs (*origo*: 'jig) che / sa kra kanda dang / karsi na dang / ma kai dang / tamtha ka sogs ma btab par skye ba dang / sbrang rtsi dang khyim bya (143-a) kha dog 'gyur ba zer (*origo*: ba ther zer) ba sogs mang bas yul mi rnams kyis de dag la longs spyod par byed / yul de dag las dkar lin em ki rai si'i mnga 'og yin cing yul gzhan dag i sa pā ni yas 'dzin gyin yod / der sngon dus khang khyim sogs med kyang deng sang yo ru pa'i mi dag gis mkhar dang grong mang po gsar du brtsig yod / gling de'i lho mtha rgya mtsho'i dbus brgyud zam pa 'dra ba'i lam yod pa de rgyud de dpag tshad stong lhag song ba na / yo dza ni ya a mi ri ka de byang gling lho ma zer ba dpag tshad sum stong lnga brgya'i rgya khyon can yod / gling de'i char a ma so na zer ba'i yul chen po dang / pra dzi li ya dang / kri wir ma dang / ma ke lā na dang / sra ka bi dang / phe ru dang / yo ja ni ya phe ru dang / kṣi nar khā si dang / ka bi thu dang / tu po mi ya dang / kṣi la dang / tho pi na sa dang / phra bi ka ro la dang / kai bis ni sogs yul che chung mang po yod / gling der ri bo chen po an stra sa zer ba sogs ri mthon po dang / chu klung a ma dze sogs klung rab med pa lhag par mang bas gru la ma bsten par der bgrod pa shin tu dka / der dbyar dgun dang nyin mtshan 'phel 'grib med cing lhag par dro bas shing thog rigs mang po dang / ma kai sogs ma rmod pa'i lo tog rigs mang po dang / khyim bya kha dog 'gyur ba sogs bya dang ri dags nya sogs lhag par mang bas yul mi rnams nam yang 'tsho bas mi phongs / rdo rje rin po che dang / margad dang / padma ra ga sogs rin po che'i rigs mang po dang (143-b) lcags ma yin pa bzhu ba'i khams bzhi'i 'byung khungs mang po dang / seng ge dang glang chen dug sbrul sogs sems can rigs mang po dang / rma bya dang ne tso kha dog lnga can sogs bya rigs mtshar ba ches mang bar me (*origo*: med) sa ra dza sogs kyis bshad 'dug pa dang / phe rang dag las kyang thos / gling de'i mi rnams gzugs khru brgyad dgu'i tshad can la sha mdog gur gum lta bu dmar ser / lus phal cher gcer bu la chos lugs sogs med pa tshe ring la nad nyung dag yin / gling de'i char gtogs yul phe rurisa pā ni ya'i rgyal po'i pho brang lo yin / gling de'i char gtogs yul phe rur i sa pā ni ya'i rgyal po'i pho brang lo ma zer ba yod pa der tsanda sa mtshog sogs shing rin thang che ba sna

¹⁴ As mentioned above in footnote one, the manuscript copy used for this paper had been corrected in red ink by some unknown person. Whenever a word, or phrase, has been corrected in that manner, the correction appears in the text, and the original, uncorrected form is entered after the word *origo*: .

tshogs pa dang / byi ru sogs kyi ka ba dang gdung ma sogs byas pa / gser
 dngul sogs kyi rgya phebs can rin po che sna tshogs pa'i phra'i brgyan pa
 mang po dang / mi khyim lnga stong tsam (*error: rtsam*) dang / de dang
 nye sar pi ni sa zer ba'i tshong 'dus chen po yod pa der mi khyim sum
 khri dang / yul phe ru skyong bar e sa bā ni ya nas mngags pa'i sa he pa
 sogs sdod gyin yod / de dag dang mi ring bar so to shi ra dang / karda tsi
 na zer ba sogs grong dang grong khyer mang po yod pa las / so to sha rar
 gser rkyang las byas pa'i mtho ris kyi bdag po'i lha khang sogs yod ces em
 ki ra sis byas pa'i go la'i kha byang las bshad 'dug / yul pra dzi li yar pho
 sti ke si'i rgyal po'i pho brang ri ye ya nar zer ba dang / rdo rje pha lam
 gyi 'byung khungs sogs yod (144-a) yang gling der ka tsi na zer ba'i yul
 chen po dang / so ri na zer ba'i yul chung bcas yod pa las snga ma pha ra
 se si dang phyi ma ho lan de sis 'dzin gyin yod kyang / byang gling lho
 mar sdod pa'i phe rang dang / kla klo sogs kyis (*error: kyi*) i sa pā ni ya'i
 (*error: yi*) rgyal po'i lung len dgos / gling de'i lho mthar ne ya hi li zer
 ba'i yul yod / der nags tshal 'thug po yod pa'i nang na mi gzugs shin tu
 che zhing lo stong thub dag yod ces phor sti ki si dag gis bshad 'dug /
 byang gling dang nye sar ku pa zer ba'i gling phran dang / sa to mang ku
 dang / tsa ma yig dang / phor thu ri ko dang / kra pe yau dang / sā kam
 zer ba sogs gling phran che ba drug dang gling phran chung ngu mang po
 yod pa phal cher i sa pa ni ya dang / em ki ri si dang / spe ram kṣi ya
 sogs kyis 'dzin bzhin yod cing / dpal shambha la'i yul gyi tsi na
 ba'i grong khyer tu sku sbye ba'i mkhas pa chen po me pa ra dza 'am
 ming gzhan ka lam pā tsha ste lham kyi rgyal po zhes bya ba / byang gling
 du song skabs thog mar sā kam zer ba'i gling der slebs pa yin no //

TRANSLATION

(folio 142-a: line 7) If one goes in a northwesterly direction from the country of I-si-lan-ti (= Iceland) crossing a large ocean by boat, there is the large continent called She-wi-rni-ya A-mi-ri-ka,¹⁵ i.e., “Northern *Byang-gling*,¹⁶ which has a measurement of three thousand four hundred miles.

In the northern part of that continent, there is a *sde*¹⁷ called Su-bi-ra-

¹⁵ *She-wi-rni-ya A-mi-ri-ka* is a transliteration of the Russian *Severnaia Amerika*, i.e., North America.

¹⁶ In translating *she-wi-rni-ya a-mi-ri-ka* into Tibetan, Bla-ma Btsan-po rendered *she-wi-rni-ya* as “northern” and *a-mi-ri-ka* as “Northern continent”. Since he used *byang-gling* (i.e., northern continent) consistently as meaning the north and south American continent, *byang-gling* will not be translated in order to avoid the misleading translation-readings of “northern north continent” and “southern north continent”.

¹⁷ This Tibetan word may mean either a group of people or the territory they occupy, and can be rendered either as “tribe” or “tribal domain”.

yār,¹⁸ and some large *sde*, such as Mig-cing-ka-na,¹⁹ Ku-ru-na,²⁰ Si-ri-kra-ta (?), and Sa-ra-sa-sa (?). The people of those regions are large in stature, have light-yellow colored skin, and their facial features are like those of a Mongol. They (wear) coats of the skins of various kinds of beasts of prey, such as the tiger and leopard. They have no religious or social customs whatsoever. They are fierce and savage fools who make their livelihood with livestock, such as cattle and sheep.

Among the regions mentioned above, Si-ri-kra-ta belongs under the control of the Em-ki-rai-si (= English), and the other regions are controlled by the people of various (other) countries.

In the southern part of that continent, there is the large region called Kar-lin,²¹ and there are many countries such as Lu-tsi-ya-na (= Louisiana),²² Mig-si-ka (= Mexico),²³ Phe-lo-ri-tha (= Florida),²⁴ Ka-li-phir-ni-ya (= California),²⁵ and Yo-kha-dan (= Yucatan).²⁶ The people of those (countries) have yellow colored skin, and they have upper and lower garments of such things as bird feathers and tree leaves (to cover) their nakedness. Since they do not have such things as religious customs or (a system of) writing, they are nothing but fools, but rather mild in disposition.

In all those countries, there are many high mountains and large rivers, and (even when) there is no snow or rain, the fear of such things as lightning and hail is great. Such things as Sa-kra-kanda,²⁷ karsi-na,²⁸ ma-kai,²⁹ and tamtha-ka³⁰ grow without being planted, and since there is an abun-

¹⁸ *Su-bi-ra-yār* appears to be a transliteration of *Superior*, but from the subsequent information *Su-bi-ra-yār* should refer to a region peopled by Indians, and such a correlation was not forthcoming.

¹⁹ This sounds very much like Michigan, but no correlation could be satisfactorily established with an Indian name other than Mohican.

²⁰ Perhaps Huron?

²¹ *Kar-lin* appears to be the Carolinas.

²² Louisiana was ceded to Spain in 1762 and re-acquired by the French in 1800 and then sold to the U. S. in 1803. Further on, the text states that Louisiana was under Spanish control, i.e., between 1762 and 1800.

²³ The independence of Mexico from Spain was recognized in the Treaty of Cordoba signed in 1821.

²⁴ The text states Florida was under Spanish rule, which it was until the Treaty of 1819, at which time Spain sold it to the U.S.

²⁵ California, being part of Mexico, was subject to Spanish rule until the independence of Mexico in 1821.

²⁶ Yucatan, also a part of Mexico, was controlled by Spain until 1821.

²⁷ *Sa-kra-kanda* = Sanskrit: *sarkarā-kāṇḍa* = sugar cane.

²⁸ *Karsi-na* = Sanskrit: *karṣaṇa*, for *ksīrīṇī*; a bulbous plant. Potato?

²⁹ *Ma-kai* = maize.

³⁰ *Tamtha-ka* = tobacco. The usual Tibetan form for tobacco is *tha-ma-kha*.

dance of honey and domesticated fowls (143-a), which are said to change color,³¹ the people of those countries make use of them.

Concerning those countries, (the one called) Dkar-lin³² is under the control of the Em-ki-rai-si (= English), and the other countries (i.e., Louisiana, Mexico, Florida, California, and Yucatan) are controlled by I-sa-pā-ni-ya (= Spain). In former times, there were no dwellings there, but nowadays, many palaces and villages have been newly built by the Europeans (*yo-ru-pa'i mi-dag*).

At the southern extremity of that continent, there is a road (of land) which crosses the middle of the ocean like a bridge (i.e., the isthmus of Panama). If one crosses that, going more than a thousand miles, there is Yo-dza-ni-ya A-mi-ri-ka,³³ i.e., "Southern *Byang-gling*",³⁴ which has a measurement of three thousand five hundred miles.

There are many large and small countries in parts of that continent, such as the large country called A-ma-so-na,³⁵ and Pra-dzi-li-ya (= Brazil), Kri-wir-ma (?), Ma-ke-lā-na,³⁶ Sra-ka-bi (?), Phe-ru (= Peru), Yo-ja-ni-ya Phe-ru,³⁷ Kṣi-nar-khā-si (?), Ka-bi-thu,³⁸ Tu-po-mi-ya (?), Kṣi-la (= Chile), Tho-pi-na-sa (?), Phra-bi-ka-ro-la (?), and Kai-bis-ni (?).

There are high mountains on that continent, such as the great mountains called An-stra-sa (i.e., the Andes), and since there are a great many rivers without fords, such as the river A-ma-dze (= Amazon), it is very difficult to travel there without using a boat. During the summer and winter, there is no increasing or decreasing (in the length of) the day or night, and due to the excessive warmth, there are many kinds of fruits and many kinds of crops (obtained) without plowing, such as *ma-kai* (maize). Since there are a great many birds, such as domesticated fowls

³¹ I am at a loss as to what domesticated fowl is said "to change color". It appears to be widely distributed, since it is mentioned later on in the text as occurring in South America too.

³² *Dkar-lin* is spelled *Kar-lin* above (cf. note 17).

³³ *Yo-dza-ni-ya* is a transliteration of the Russian *yuzhnaia*, meaning "south, southern", and *A-mi-ri-ka* is *America*.

³⁴ For the discussion of *byang-gling*, see note 12.

³⁵ In Portuguese: *Amazonas*. This refers to the region of the Amazon river basin, comprising the modern Brazilian state called Amazonas.

³⁶ In Spanish: *Magallanes*, i.e., the southern tip of South America comprising the Strait of Magellan and Patagonia.

³⁷ *Yo-ja-ni-ya* (Russian: *yuzhnaia*) *Phe-ru* is "southern Peru". Perhaps this refers to Bolivia, and the Buenos Aires regions, which were made into a separate province of Peru, but still subject to the Viceroy in Lima, Peru.

³⁸ *Ka-bi-thu*(?) perhaps Quito, the ancient kingdom constituting present day Ecuador. It was made a province of Peru and subject to the Spanish Viceroy in Lima.

which change color, and fish and game animals, the people of those countries always have a livelihood and so there is no poverty.

There are many kinds of precious things there, such as precious diamonds, emeralds, and rubies (143-b), and there are many sources of the four nonferrous metals.³⁹ There are many kinds of creatures, such as lions, elephants,⁴⁰ and venomous serpents, and many beautiful kinds of birds, such as peacocks and five-colored parrots. This is (all) described by Me-sa-ra-dza⁴¹ and others, and I have also heard it from the Europeans (phe-rang-dag).⁴²

The people of that continent have bodies measuring eight or nine *khru*,⁴³ and their skin is a reddish-yellow similar to saffron color. They generally go naked, do not have such things as religious customs, and have few sicknesses during their long life.

In Phe-ru (= Peru), a country belonging to part of that continent, there is a palace of the King of I-sa-pā-ni-ya (= Spain), which is called Lo-ma (= Lima).⁴⁴ (That palace) is made with pillars, beams, and so forth, of such things as coral and various kinds of valuable timber, like yellow sandalwood. It has a roof of gold, silver, and so forth, and many ornamentations of various kinds of precious things. There are as many as five thousand dwellings there.

At a place near there is the large market center called Pi-ni-sa (?), where there are thirty thousand dwellings, and the Sa-he-pa (= Sahib; "master"), who is appointed by I-sa-bā-ni-ya (= Spain) to protect the country of Phe-ru (= Peru), resides there.⁴⁵

Not far from these are many villages and towns, such as those called

³⁹ In Tibetan *lcags ma yin pa bzhu ba'i kham bzhi*. The four nonferrous metals are: copper, tin, lead, and zinc.

⁴⁰ The text reads *glang chen*, usually meaning "elephant"; however, *glang* means an "ox" and *chen* "large", and in view of the fauna of the Americas, "large oxen" is more acceptable here.

⁴¹ See note 56 on *Me-sa-ra-dza*.

⁴² This means that Bla-ma Btsan-po heard it personally from European informants, in addition to having access to written materials.

⁴³ *Khru* is the Tibetan cubit and considered to be 18 inches long, which would make those people from 12 to 13½ feet tall. Cf. "The average height of a man is assumed to be four cubits" (Jäschke, *op. cit.*, p. 51).

⁴⁴ Lima, originally known as *Los Reyes*, was founded by Pizarro in 1535 A.D. Peru was made a viceroyalty of Spain in 1544, and Lima was the center of the Spanish dominions in South America until Peruvian independence was declared in 1821.

⁴⁵ It is strange that Bla-ma Btsan-po says the Spanish master of Peru (i.e., the Viceroy) lived in *Pi-ni-sa*. Perhaps he applied the name *Lo-ma* (Lima) only to the Viceroy's palace, and *Pi-ni-sa* to the rest of the city. On the other hand, his statement that *Pi-ni-sa* is a large market center near Lima suggests the seaport of Callao.

So-to-shi-ra⁴⁶ and Karda-tsi-na.⁴⁷ At So-to-sha(sic!)-ra (i.e., Cuzco), there is a temple of the master of heaven (i.e., the Sun), which is made of nothing but gold.⁴⁸ Thus is it explained in the "globe-descriptions" (Tib. *go la'i kha byang*; i.e., geography books) made by the Em-ki-ra-si (= English).

In the country of Pra-dzi-li-ya (= Brazil), there is a palace of the king of Pho-sti-ke-si (= Portugal) called Ri-ye-ya-nar (= Rio de Janeiro),⁴⁹ and such things as the sources of diamonds.⁵⁰ (144-a).

Also in that continent is the large country called Ka-tsi-na⁵¹ along with the small country called So-ri-na⁵²; the former is controlled by the Pha-ra-se-si (= French), and the latter by Ho-lan-de-si (= Holland). However, the Europeans (Tib. *phe-rang*) and the natives (Tib. *kla-klo*), who live in Southern *Byang-gling* (i.e., South America) are obliged to accept the commands of the king of I-sa-pā-ni-ya (= Spain).

In the southern extremity of that continent, there is the country called Ne-ya-hi-li.⁵³ There is a dense forest there, in which there are people of gigantic size and who live to be a thousand years old. So it is explained by the Phor-sti-ki-si (= Portuguese).

Close to *Byang-gling*, there are six large islands, such as the island called Ku-pa (= Cuba), and those called Sa-to-mang-ku,⁵⁴ Tsa-ma-yig (= Jamaica), Phor-thu-ri-ko (= Puerto Rico), Kra-pe-yau (?), and Sā-kam.⁵⁵ For the most part, they are controlled by I-sa-pa-ni-ya (= Spain), Em-ki-ri-si (= England), Spe-ram-kṣi-ya (= France), and others.

⁴⁶ *So-to-shi-ra* is identified through context as Cuzco. See note 48.

⁴⁷ *Karda-tsi-na* appears to be a transliteration of *Cartagena*, but it is situated on the northwest coast of Colombia, a great distance away.

⁴⁸ This refers to the great Temple of the Sun, which was covered with plates of gold, and located at Cuzco. Long since stripped of its gold, parts of the walls were incorporated into the monastery of Santo Domingo.

⁴⁹ Rio de Janeiro became the Portuguese colonial capital in 1729 and remained under Portuguese rule until Brazilian independence was declared in 1822.

⁵⁰ It was because diamonds were discovered in Minas Geraes in 1729 that the Portuguese capital was moved from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro.

⁵¹ *Ka-tsi-na* appears to be a transliteration of *Cayenne*. The French gained original control of French Guiana in 1664. The British captured it in 1808, but returned it to the French in 1817.

⁵² *So-ri-na* is the Surinam, or Netherlands Guiana, of modern maps. The Dutch gained control of Surinam in 1667, when the British relinquished their claim to it by the Treaty of Breda.

⁵³ The location of *Ne-ya-hi-li* points to Tierra del Fuego, but the description of the people there indicates *Ne-ya-hi-li* is some mythical land.

⁵⁴ *Sa-to-mang-ku* is a transliteration of San Domingo, the former name of the island now divided into Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

⁵⁵ Due to the context of the final paragraph of the section, *Sā-kam* is identified as San Salvador, or the Watling Island of modern maps.

At the time when Me-pa-ra-dza, that great learned man who was born in the town of Tsi-na-ba (= Genoa)⁵⁶ of the country of Dpal Shambhala,⁵⁷ and whose other name was Ka-lam-pā-tsha, i.e., "King of the Boots",⁵⁸ went to *Byang-gling* (i.e., the Americas), the first arrived at that island called Sā-kam (i.e., San Salvador).

⁵⁶ From the context, *Me-pa-ra-dza* is identified as Christopher Columbus, who was born in Genoa. (The spelling of *Me-sa-ra-dza* occurs above, (cf. note 41), but the reading here is substantiated by a singular occurrence in the Spain section, where it is spelled *Me-pa-rā-dza*). *Ra-dza* is the usual Tibetan transliteration of *Rāja* ("king"), but *Me-pa* does not appear to be a Sanskrit word. In Tibetan, it could mean "fire-man", but that doesn't seem to apply. On the basis of available information, no translation of *Me-pa-ra-dza* seemed acceptable, unless *me-pa* is somehow equivalent to Tibetan *lham* (cf. note 58).

⁵⁷ It is strange that Bla-ma Btsan-po has located Shambhala in Europe. Originally, Shambhala was the name of an actual country situated somewhere north of the Sita, or Tarim, river (cf. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome, 1949, II, pp. 599, 617). It assumed a mythical character when it became known as the region where the doctrine of the *Dus-kyi-'khor-lo* (Kalacakra) was revealed (see Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1953, p. 753-ff.) Traditionally, Shambhala, whether in its actual or mythical state, is located somewhere in Central Asia; yet, the Lama says Genoa (*Tsi-ni-ba*) is in the country of Shambhala. (Such a statement requires investigation, and I am now gathering material for a paper discussing the European location of Shambhala according to the 'Dzam gling rgyas bshad.)

⁵⁸ Bla-ma Btsan-po explains *ka-lam-pā-tsha* as *lham-kyi rgyal-po* (i.e., "King of the Boots"). However, since Ka-lam-pā-tsha is identified as Christopher Columbus, and Columbus comes from the Italian *colombo*, meaning "pidgeon, dove", it is difficult to say upon what grounds the Lama based this explanation.

REVIEWS

Dr. Charu Chandra Das Gupta, *The development of the Kharoṣṭhī script*.
K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1958. 470 pp. 75 sh.

The study of the origin and development of the various types of script in use among the ancient peoples of Asia is a fascinating subject which has received the attention of many eminent authors. In this large volume Dr. Charu Chandra Das Gupta has taken up the problem of the Kharoṣṭhī which is one of the two ancient Indian scripts which are first met with in the Maurya period, the other being the Brāhmī which is the source of all the modern scripts of India and Greater India. The Kharoṣṭhī after flourishing in the extreme North-West of India and lasting there and in Central Asia for at least six centuries (3rd cent. B.C.–3rd cent. A.D.) eventually became obsolete. Whereas the Brāhmī script was written from left to right the Kharoṣṭhī runs from right to left. It did not give rise to any other script. As the documents written in this alphabet are the main source of our knowledge of the history of this region, the study of Kharoṣṭhī is of great importance for deepening our insight into the history of India and Central Asia, where it remained in use for a few centuries more.

Dr. Das Gupta has wisely extended his studies to all documents written in Kharoṣṭhī so that the present volume, in contradistinction to the works of other scholars dealing with the same subject, may claim to be exhaustive, since the script as it appears in each successive period is discussed in great detail. The work consists of seventeen chapters, dealing with the period of Aśoka, the Negama and other coins, the Indo-Bactrian, Indo-Scythian, and Indo-Parthian periods, the periods of Kadphises I and II, of the Great Kuṣānas and their successors; the Khotān Dharmapada, the period of Pepiya, etc. In the last chapters the numerals, the name, and the origin of the script are discussed, and some general conclusions drawn.

Generally speaking, this book – which represents the author's thesis approved by Cambridge University in 1946 – constitutes a careful and exhaustive consideration of all problems relative to this interesting script and an important contribution to our knowledge of Indian palaeography. It should however be borne in mind that the number of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions excavated up to now is rather limited, so that it is far from impossible that other sources will be found, if archaeological investigations should be undertaken and carried through in a more systematic way. Moreover, photographs of the records – inscriptions, coins etc. – are not always available and certain manuscripts are not easily accessible, part of them lying unpublished in Indian and European museums and libraries. Notwithstanding these drawbacks the author has spared no pains to show the development of this script as completely as possible.

It may be worth while to draw special attention to the contents of two chapters. In chapter XV in which Dr. Das Gupta sets forth some opinions of his own and general conclusions he endeavours, first, to determine the fundamental characteristic of each stage of development, and in the second place the development of those letters which have undergone some change or other. Not all of them have developed at the same rapid rate. Moreover, in each period there are letters which were prevalent in the preceding period and are now falling into disuse, and letters which were not prevalent in the preceding period and now begin to become common. Chapter XVII deals with the origin of this script. With the exception of Sylvain Lévi, according to whom the

Kharoṣṭhī alphabet came from Chinese Turkestan, most scholars believed it to have originated in some western Asiatic region, especially in Semitic countries. According to these scholars the earliest knowledge of the art of writing would have been transmitted to India by the Persians. The territory of the script under consideration corresponds, indeed, closely with the limits of the eastern satrapies of the Achaemenidian Kingdom. The question, however, remains why the Aramaic alphabet was introduced into India at a moment that the Brāhmī script was already in use by the Indians. Here Dr. Das Gupta adduces arguments in favour of the thesis that they were forced to borrow the alphabet of the conquerors which, like the Aramaic language, was often employed for official purposes. Two Aramaic inscriptions were found in Taxila and in Afghanistan. It is therefore a reasonable assumption that the Indians of the Indo-Persian provinces adopted the script that was commonly employed by the scribes of the Persian administration, though they already possessed another script. In order to prove this thesis the author institutes a comparative study of the Aramaic script, the script used on the Aramaic inscriptions found at Taxila and in Afghanistan and the earliest Kharoṣṭhī as used in the inscriptions of Aśoka. He succeeds in showing that the principal letters of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet have indeed been borrowed from the Aramaic script and that some other signs were derived from the borrowed letters. Indications of the vowels were added, and rules for making compound letters introduced.

Utrecht

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Samantabhadracaryā-praṇidhānarāja critically edited by Sushama Devi. Bhoṭa-piṭaka, being The Tibetan Collectanea in the series of Indo-Asian Literatures forming the Śatapīṭaka, vol. 2 = Śatapīṭakam, vol. 4; editor-in-chief Raghu Vira, M.A. Ph.D., M.P. International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, 1958. Price Rs. 20.—.

The *Samantabhadracaryā-praṇidhānarāja* – which is more commonly known as *Bhadracarī* in Sanskrit or *Brañ-spyod* in Tibetan, whereas Winternitz, *Hist. of Indian Lit.*, II, 326, calls it *Bhadracarī-praṇidhāna-gāthāḥ* – is a long prayer in melodious *dodhaka* stanzas which may safely be said to rank among the most beautiful products of Buddhist literature and among the most characteristic expressions of Buddhist piety. It has since the 4th century A.D. been used for purposes of worship in all countries of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It belongs to a trio of texts, the other two being the *Mañjuśrī-jñanasattvasya paramārthanāma-saṅgītiḥ* and the *Ārya-prajñāpāramitā-saṅcaya-gāthā*. In Sanskrit manuscripts as well as in the Chinese translations – it was translated into this language several times in the 4th and 8th century and into Tibetan in the 9th century – this text is found at the end of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, but it occurs also as an independent text. The text may be divided into four parts, a prose preamble, the main body of the work (stanza 1–42) containing pious effusions, adorations, prayers, confessions of sin, enumerations of the virtues of the Jinas, expressions of humility and obedience etc., the introduction of *Samantabhadra* as the object of devotion, and the *phalaśruti* i.e. the good derived by reciting, preaching or hearing the text. In this volume Mrs. Sushama Devi has edited the Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese texts. The manuscripts used are a Peking xylograph, giving the Sanskrit text – which is written in Buddhist *Gāthā* (so-called Hybrid) Sanskrit – in Lantsha and Tibetan characters together with the corresponding Tibetan translation (collection Raghu Vira); a photographic reprint in Siddham characters followed by three Chinese translations, the whole text of this source being photographically reproduced in the present edition. The Tibetan text as presented by Mrs. Sushama Devi is based on four

different xylographed editions. The edition has been prepared with much care and the various texts are conveniently arranged. In order to assist those Sanskritists who are not familiar with Buddhist Gāthā a chāyā or interpretation in normal classical Sanskrit has been added (p. 15 ff.). There is also a very useful summary of the contents (p. 22 ff.) and a Sanskrit-Tibetan index (p. 158 ff.). The young authoress deserves our gratitude for her appreciable piece of work.

Utrecht

J. Gonda

Bernhard Geiger, Tibor Halasi-Kun, Aert H. Kuipers, Karl H. Menges, *Peoples and Languages of the Caucasus. A synopsis.* 's-Gravenhage, Mouton & Co., 1959, 77 S. (= *Janua linguarum. Studia memoriae Nicolai van Wijk* dedicata, Nr. VI).

Das vorliegende Buch gibt eine kurze nützliche Übersicht über die Völker und Sprachen des Kaukasus: 1. Kaukasier im eigentlichen Sinne (Süd-, West- und Ostkaukasier), 2. Indoeuropäer (Armenier, Osseten und andere Iranier), 3. Altaier (Türken und Kalmücken), und 4. Semiten (Aisoren). Nach einer genealogischen Gruppierung der Sprachen werden statistische Angaben gemacht über Namen, Bevölkerungszahlen, Wohnsitze, Sprache, Dialekte, wirtschaftliche Verhältnisse und Religion. Ein umfangreicher, die Benutzung des Werkes ausserordentlich erleichternder Namenindex, ein nach sachlichen und regionalen Gesichtspunkten gegliederter bibliographischer Anhang und eine gute ethnographische Karte beschliessen den schönen Band.

Ergänzend könnte notiert werden, dass im Lakkischen, S. 35, sechs Dialekte und im Udischen, S. 45, zwei unterschieden werden, vgl. *Jazyki severnogo Kavkaza i Dagestana*, II, 87 ff., bzw. *ZDMG*, 93, 60 ff. Die neue kürinische Schriftsprache beruht nicht auf dem von Uslar dargestellten kürinischen, sondern auf dem westlichen Dialekt am Mittellauf des Samur mit dem Hauptort Achty, vgl. das demnächst erscheinende Heft der Zeitschrift *ORBIS*, 178 ff.

In die Bibliographie könnten vielleicht die folgenden Werke aufgenommen werden: R. v. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus und seine Völker* (Leipzig, 1887), mit einer ausgezeichneten ethnographischen Karte; P. K. Uslar, „Etnografija Kavkaza“, *Jazykoznanie*, I-VI (Tiflis, 1887–1896); und A. Dirr, *Einführung in das Studium der kaukasischen Sprachen* (Leipzig, 1928).

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K. Bouda

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